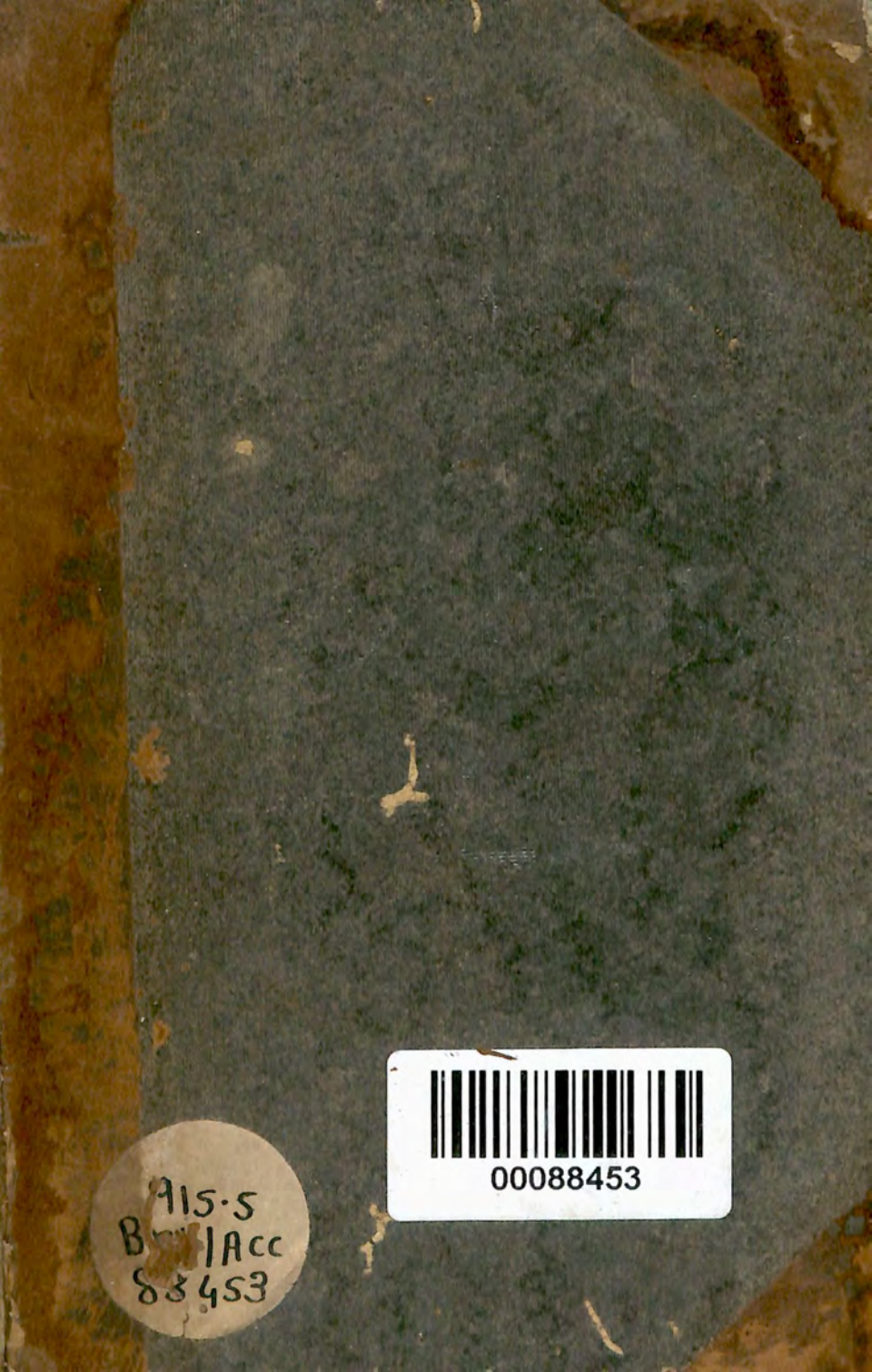
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OF THE
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ABDALLAH-EBN-SOWHOUD, CHIEF of the WAHAB
beheaded at Constantinople in 1819.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE TRANSACTIONS

OF

HIS MAJESTY'S MISSION

TO THE COURT OF

PERSIA,

IN THE YEARS 1807-11,

BY

SIR HARFORD JONES BRYDGES, BART.
K.C., LL.D.,
LATE ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY
TO THE COURT OF TEHERAN.

88453

TO WHICH IS APPENDED,

A BRIEF HISTORY

OF THE

WAHAUBY.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR
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A

BRIEF HISTORY

OF THE

WAHAUBY.

LONDON:
C. RICHARDS, PRINTER, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, CHARING CROSS.

"Who is more unjust than he who uttereth a lie concerning "God, and denieth the truth, when it cometh unto him? Is there "not a dwelling provided in hell for the unbelievers?"—KORAN, *cap.* 39, *entitled* "*Troops.*" The favourite expostulation of the Wahaubys against the Turks and Persians.

TO THE READER.

THE supercargo of my little bark (*i. e.* my publisher) having made a favourable report of his voyage, I now, as I promised, launch my second adventure, hoping that by your favour and protection, its passage may prove as smooth, and its result as fortunate, as that of its predecessor.

It is natural for me to wish, and indeed it is my duty to endeavour, to entertain you to the best of my humble abilities; and whether you are one of those who read as I do, to pass a certain portion of time, as innocently and perhaps as usefully to myself as I can,—or whether you are a tyro in the study of Oriental history and languages, desirous of adding to such portion of acquaintance with them, as you have already made; I confess, (though by so doing I lay myself open to be accused of vanity) I do not despair of pleasing and informing you. If you are of the last class, I deceive myself if I have not thrown together, in this and the next volume, matter which you would

have had to seek through various publications, at no inconsiderable expense of time and pocket: —and if you belong to the first class of readers, I hope that there are interspersed in the following pages, anecdotes, and personal adventures, the perusal of which may not be disagreeable.

It is to the very learned reader only, that I acknowledge and confess my utter inability to produce entertainment or information; but if, after a continuance of deep study, he will condescend to take up these volumes, and read a certain number of pages at whatsoever place the book opens, he will probably, at such a moment, find them to possess (for him at least) a no very trifling merit— that of being diametrically opposite to those in the book he has just laid down.

Now, gentle Reader,—whoever and whatever you are,—if you are as much tormented by insomnity as I am, and take up this volume at a time when you are turning from side to side on your couch,* seeking in vain "the foster nurse of

* Ἀλλ' οὐκ'———

Ὕπνος ἔχε γλυκερὸς, πολλὰ φρεσὶν ὁρμαίνοντα.

———Him, from thought to thought
Roving solicitous, no sleep relieved.

ILIAD. *L.* X.

nature,"—if, I say, at such time, the volume should introduce the coy dame to your presence, and you know, (as I do) her value,—then I need not repent compiling *pages of such power;* nor will you, I presume, complain that your purchase of them has been made in vain.

With thanks for your former kindness, Farewell! I make my bow to you, using at the same time the words which our English Cervantes, the great Fielding, uses, in closing one of his inimitable chapters in Tom Jones: "If you all smile on my labours, I hope I shall bring them to a happy conclusion."

N. B. The matter contained in this volume has been published separately, in consequence of the advice of a very judicious and learned friend.

THE WAHAUBY.

It is now nearly a century since an Arab of the name of Abdul Wahaub, of the tribe of Tomym, left the Nejd to study Theology and Divinity in the various schools, and colleges of the East; and at length, from Damascus where he had assiduously pursued his studies, and where at that time resided some of the most celebrated Mahommedan Doctors, he retired to Dereyah, a town situate in that portion of Arabia which is distinguished by the name of Nejd; nearly in lat. 24 and long. 45.

Probably the retreat of Abdul Wahaub to Dereyah was not uninfluenced by prudential motives; as the doctrines he had broached at Damascus, and other places where he resided, had drawn on him the notice, rather than the reverence, of the Theologians there. He had however not long resided at Dereyah, when Mahommed Ibn Saoud, the principal person of that town, became at once, his first convert and his father-in-law. The tribe to which Abdul Wahaub's father-in law belonged was that of the Anissa, which at that time, and long after-

wards, was in its different branches one of the most, if not the most powerful of the tribes inhabiting the desert, in the most extensive signification of the word. The great body of this noble tribe was generally stationed in that tract of land which extends from the banks of the Euphrates at Hillah to the confines of Aleppo, and from Grain at the head of the Persian Gulf to the confines of Arabia Felix; and which is known at Bagdad and Bassora by the appellation of the great Desert, in contradistinction to that which spreads itself from Monsul towards Nisibin and Orfa.

Not long after the adoption of the doctrines of Abdul Wahaub by Mahommed Ibn Saoud, the latter attempted to propagate the tenets of his teacher amongst his neighbours; and at this time Saoud's force is reported to have been so trifling that in the first skirmish with his opponents he could only muster seven camel-riders in his company.(1) But it will be seen by and by, that the tenets professed by Saoud, contained much that was captivating to the minds of those who panted for civil as well as religious freedom; who had long considered the voluptuousness, and corruption of their Turkish masters as ill according with the simplicity recommended and enjoined by the Arabian prophet and legislator; and who were indignant at the daily instances of Turkish tyranny and injustice.

If there was one point of the Wahauby faith

which was more pre-eminently odious to the Ottoman government than another, it was that which divested the grand signor of his sacred character of visible Imaum, or spiritual head of the followers of Islam; for Saoud soon assumed the character of temporal and spiritual leader,[2] and found no difficulty in its acknowledgment by those Arabs who voluntarily embraced his doctrines, nor by those whom he had converted by force. The assumption of these powers accorded perfectly well with the declarations and actions of their prophet, and with what had been practised by the first caliphs, their countrymen, his successors.

It was not long therefore before Saoud, partly by persuasion and partly by force, became sufficiently powerful to draw on himself the notice, and consequently, to excite the fears of the court of Constantinople; and when I arrived at Bassora in the year 1784, his proceedings and marauding marches caused great anxiety and alarm to the paçha of Bagdad, to his governor at Bassora, as well as to the best informed Turks. For these last were aware that his doctrines, when examined by the simple text of the Koran, were perfectly orthodox, and consonant to the purest and best interpretations of that volume.

The Bagdad government early made a fatal mistake in permitting Saoud to subjugate, and incorporate with his proselytes, the tribe of Benicaled; an ancient, and at that time a powerful tribe, oc-

cupying the north-western shores of the Persian Gulph, as well as a considerable space of country, both at the head of that gulph and to the north-westward of Bassora; so that they then possessed the part of the desert on the western side of the Euphrates, which was considered by the Montifeeks as belonging to them. This strange oversight of Suleiman Paçha, who had but recently obtained from the Porte the Paçhalik of Bagdad, was never imputed to his ignorance of the political interests of his government, but was imagined to arise, first, from the then poverty of his treasury, which rendered him unwilling to incur the expense of affording assistance to the Benicaled Shaik; secondly, from the jealousy which subsisted between the tribes of Montifeek and Benicaled, which caused the shaik of the first mentioned tribe to purchase the paçha's inactivity by a large bribe; and more than all perhaps from the paçha injudiciously supposing that himself and the Montifeek Shaik at a future favourable period, would always have it in their power easily to set things to rights.

To the year 1794, however, the period at which I left Bassora, Saoud had greatly increased the former uneasiness and alarm of the Bagdad government by unexpected attacks made on different points of its territories; attacks which the Turks could neither foresee nor guard against; for the ease with which the Wahaubees assembled a force, and the rapidity with which that force marched,

when assembled, astonished and confounded the slowly moving Ottoman.[2] At this time, therefore, all the minor towns along the line of the western banks of the Euphrates, were in a constant state of alarm and apprehension; many of them were plundered, and the pasturages in the neighbourhood of the others were not safe for the flocks of the inhabitants, so that some of the weakest of these towns were said to have purchased their security by secret submission and tribute to Saoud, which the government of Bagdad found it more convenient to wink at than to resist.

In consequence of the paçha's ill behaviour to the British factory at Bassora, the establishment was, early in the year 1792, removed from Bassora to the town of Grain, in the hope that the effects produced by this measure on the trade of that city might bring the paçha to an eligible arrangement of a tedious dispute; a dispute which intrigue on the part of the Jews on the one hand, and the bad faith of the Turks on the other, had carried to a point far beyond its real consequence.[3] To this town, as a member of that factory, I accompanied the persons composing it; and there arose no small addition to the other inconveniences which we suffered at that place, in the almost daily alarm which the town experienced from the appearance or reported appearance of detachments of Saoud's troops. It is true that our personal danger was but small, for we had the sea open to us, and craft

at hand on which we might embark; but it was provoking, after the exhaustion of a night sleepless from the intense heat, to be disturbed from the doze which naturally came on, as the breeze towards the morning became cool, by the absence of the sun, and by the slight dews which fell in the night. But this was not the worst; the supply of water which we obtained was infamously bad in quality, being at once salt, sweet, and bitter; besides even this, it was often stinted and often precarious, from the water-carriers either seeing or imagining that they saw a Wahauby detachment approach the wells from which it was drawn.

These wells lie about a mile distant from Grain, and at that time no well within the city afforded water which could be applied to culinary purposes without inconvenience, nor to ablution without sufferance, and the thermometer of Farenheit ranged between 98 and 110.

To compensate for these grievances, we had to amuse us, the strange, and to us, comical scenes that passed when these alarms took place. The shaik of Grain was a most venerable old man, of commanding figure, and almost adored by the inhabitants of the town, for he was more to them as a father than a governor. He was respected by the Turks, and much esteemed even by those Arabs who had submitted to Saoud: but, as Grain at that time was nearly the only port on the western side of the Gulph of Persia, which had not

submitted to Saoud, he became anxious either to bring its shaik to terms, or to conquer him. The walls of Grain, which were only of mud, and which, in the rainy season, to the great terror of the inhabitants, frequently crumbled down in large breaches, were, nevertheless, beheld and accounted by the Wahaubys as impregnable ramparts; and Saoud's most rational hope of success was interrupting the supply of one of the most necessary articles to sustain human life—*i.e.* water. The most common periods of alarm were either a little before the break of day, or a little before the setting of the sun; then those who were placed in advance towards the wells fell back, and came running into town with the direful account of the appearance of the enemy. The women immediately appeared in their veils on the house tops, and sent forth the well known Arab and eastern cry of "Leily—Leily!" used both on occasions of rejoicing and alarm; on which the whole town assembled under their venerable shaik to meet their foe. Sometimes no foe appeared, and sometimes, with our glasses, we could perceive from ten to twenty persons about the wells; when this was the case, each party advancing within a certain distance of the other, two or three valiant men on each side sat down, very, very far apart from each other, and exchanged shots with their long matchlocks; and when, as it always seemed to me, they had rather amused than annoyed one

another with this exercise, either the morning broke or the evening closed, and to us the fun ceased; and if this happened in the morning, a supply of water was afterwards obtained. But upon one glorious day, things wore a different and a new aspect. About five hundred of the enemy really appeared on the horizon of the desert, and bearing towards the town. The old shaik and the inhabitants were soon at their post; and what was better, they bore with them a piece of ordnance, taken from one of the shaik's vessels. In this formidable machine every one most confidently put his trust and hopes of safety; nor did it desert us at our utmost need. The appearance of the foe, armed with terrible long spears, and mounted on spirited horses, put the courage of many to a severe test, for if their ally, the gun, failed to do his part, the Grainers might be charged and cut to pieces before they could again bring it to act; nor, considering the condition of the instrument, did it seem very improbable that when discharged, it might, by bursting, shower more mischief on its friends than its enemies. Our excellent shaik, however, like a skilful commander, determined to make use of his ally as soon as possible; so when the combatants approached within about half a mile of each other, off went the cannon, and away went the shot, knocking up the dust on the desert to within a few yards of the foe; who, instead of charging, seemed to remain some minutes either

in astonishment or in council, and then moved off. The troops on their return to the town were greeted by the fair inhabitants with acclamations and songs of victory, and I have no doubt that the brilliant success of that day lives still in the memory and the songs of the women and children of Grain.

The factory was accompanied to Grain, by a small guard of sepoys, which was sometimes exercised by their native officer, just without the walls of the town, and the shaik having formed an idea that such a body of men must be invincible, earnestly pressed that they might be led into the field whenever danger occurred, but we had no wish to cover ourselves with glory on such an occasion. Indeed, it was absolutely necessary, for the safety of our public dispatches, which were then, transmitted across the desert, to and from Aleppo, that the factory should be on good terms with Saoud.[4] Mr. Latouche, when resident at Bassora, had, from time to time, sent Saoud small presents, which he expressed satisfaction in receiving; and Mr. Manesty and myself continued this custom; so that our packets were seldom interfered with: and if the bearers were now and then detained, the packets always ultimately reached us with unbroken seals; and thus a good understanding had hitherto been preserved between the sectary and the factory. I had afterwards good reason to know, that Saoud was anxious that this

should continue; particularly as he had formed a false estimate of the strength we had brought with us to Grain, which consisted of one of the smaller class of the Company's cruizers stationed in the harbour, and a jemedar's guard of sepoys; and we, from prudence, had as little inclination to enter into active alliance against him with our Grain friends, as he had to force us into it.

At this time the doctrines of the Wahauby had made many proselytes amongst the maritime Arabs on the shores of the Persian Gulph, and their neighbours to the southward of that Gulph, who committed frequent depredations on the smaller and unprotected craft navigating those seas; but their piracies had not yet arrived to such a degree of importance as to force the British Government in India to chastise insults offered to the national flag, or to redress injuries inflicted on their subjects.

In 1798, I arrived at Bagdad, having been appointed by his Majesty, and the Secret Committee of the East India Company, to reside with Suleiman Paçha, in quality of political Agent, but more particularly for the purpose of prevailing on that almost independent chief to assist the Porte with money, in disappointing and frustrating the views on the East, whatever they might be, with which Buonaparte, and the Expedition fitted out from Toulon, had sailed.[5]

During my absence in England from 1795 to 98,

the Porte had sent repeatedly the most pressing orders to Suleiman Paçha, to undertake an expedition, on a sufficient scale to justify reasonable hopes of entirely subverting the Wahauby power; an evident proof how much the uneasiness of the Ottoman Government, respecting these sectaries had increased, and how greatly their power and reputation were augmented.

It was early in the month of September, 1798, when I reached Bagdad; and in consequence of the pressing orders he had received, I found Suleiman had collected a numerous and respectable force, which, under the command of his Kiah, Ally Paçha, was then encamped without the walls of the city, on the western bank of the Tigris, and was destined to proceed against the Wahauby.

The countries entrusted at that time to the Government of Suleiman Paçha, were greater in extent, and richer in produce, than some kingdoms in Europe; and I am astonished to find Burckhardt, or his editor, so much mistaken, as to say, in speaking of the Paçhalik of Bagdad, under Suleiman Paçha, "The paçha of this place, "(viz. Bagdad) however, has so few pecuniary "resources, and his authority is so imperfectly "acknowledged within the limits of his own pro-"vince, that, until the year 1797, hostilities could "not be undertaken." Now having resided at Bassora from 1784 to 1794, and at Bagdad, from 1797 to 1806, having had much to do with all the

principal officers of Government concerned in the collection of the paçha's revenue, I can take on myself safely to state, that for some years previously to the year 1797, that revenue annually amounted, from fiscal collections, to a million of our money, exclusive of presents, and the advantages the paçha drew from a large stock of camels, and flocks of sheep, the keep and care of which cost him nothing. The principal annual remittance made by the paçha to the Porte, consisted of presents in India goods and pearls, to the Sultan, the ladies of the Seraglio, and the great ministers of State; which the Jew who had the management of all that business, assured me, never amounted, in any one year, to £100,000; and that the rest of the revenue collected by the paçha, was balanced at the Porte, by an account of charges of Government; and by the same person I was assured, that the paçha contrived to place a surplus in his treasury, every year, from £100,000 to £150,000, and that when I arrived at Bagdad, nearly £300,000 had been taken out of the treasury for the assembling and providing the forces destined to march against Saoud. And with another fact I am well acquainted, (for the whole sum was sent, after being officially stated to me, and the greatest part of it through my hands) which is, that from the time when Eusoof Paçha, the Grand-Vizir, left Constantinople in 1799, for Egypt, Suleiman, at different periods, assisted him with nearly half a million of money, all taken out

of the treasury vault in the palace. In short, so far from Suleiman Paçha's pecuniary resources being considered as "few," the Porte regarded him as holding one of the wealthiest governments of the Empire, and spoke of his accumulated wealth as a windfall, some day or other, on which its eye was fixed.

A day or two before Ally Paçha,[6] the Kiah, marched for Dereyah, I paid him a visit in his camp, which, from the liberal and handsome manner in which every thing was appointed, and from the various troops, collected from distant parts of the Government, made a gallant show. The army possessed a formidable train of artillery, if its real value depended on the number of pieces displayed: but, notwithstanding all these mighty preparations, the paçha was thoroughly acquainted with the character of his minister and son-in-law, Ally, and probably even then entertained some doubts of his success. The failure of the expedition was, however, confidently predicted by persons of judgment, before it lost sight of the cupolas of Bagdad, and this prediction was grounded on the ignorance which the Kiah displayed of military affairs, and on the absurd and haughty manner in which he accustomed himself to treat the friendly Arabs who had joined him, and on whom he had principally to depend when he entered on the most difficult part of his enterprize.

Burckhardt has given the following account of

this expedition, which, as far as I know, is not materially incorrect, nor, if it be divested of much of the false colouring, which the Turks, to save their credit, gave it on their return to Bagdad, does it differ in essential points from the account Ally delivered to his master, and related himself to me.

"The army consisted of 4000 or 5000 Turkish "troops, and twice that number of allied Arabs of the "tribes Thofyr, Beni, Shummere, and Montefeek. "Their march (after reaching the neighbourhood "of Bassora) lay parallel with the Persian Gulf, "through a desert country where wells were found "at every station. It was directed, in the first "instance, towards El Hassa or Lassa, the richest "and most productive part of the Wahauby do-"minions.

"Instead of advancing from that place at once "towards Dereyah, (only five or six days' journey "distant) they laid siege to the fortified citadel of "El Hassa, which they expected to take without "difficulty. The resistance was prolonged above "a month; and the arrival of a considerable "Wahauby force, under Saoud, the son of Abdul "Aziz, (who remained at Dereyah) excited strong "doubts of the Kiah's success; so strong indeed as "to induce the Turks to retreat. Saoud had an-"ticipated this measure, and starting before them, "encamped with his troops at one of the wells "called Thadj, at the distance of three days from "El Hassa. The other well of that watering place,

" about two miles further off, he rendered useless,
" by throwing into it several camel loads of salt,
" which he had brought with him for that purpose.
" The Bagdad troops halted at the last of these wells,
" and it may be conceived how much the men and
" horses suffered from the adulterated quality of
" the water. Here the Ottomans did not judge
" it prudent to continue their march, lest Saoud
" might fall upon them by surprise. On the
" other side, the Wahauby chief ventured not to
" attack the Turks, for their artillery was very
" formidable to him and his Arabs. Thus the
" two armies continued three days within sight of
" each other, in opposite ranks, only a single
" horseman skirmishing occasionally in the plains
" from each party. A parley was then established,
" a truce was concluded for six years, between
" Saoud the Wahauby, and the Paçhalik of Bagdad,
" and both armies returned quietly to their res-
" pective homes."

The observations I shall offer to the reader on this expedition, from which so much was expected, and which so completely failed, and not only failed, but in fact produced consequences so lamentable to the Bagdad government, as to break Suleiman Paçha's spirit,[7] and hasten his death, shall be but short.

If Mr. Burckhardt mean that Ally Paçha should have marched straight from the neigbourhood of the town of Grain to Dereyah, and so have taken no

notice of El Hassa; I cannot think, that having no friendly tribes in the intermediate space between the two towns to assist him, it would have been possible for him to have done so—for in that case, every drop of water, and every supply the army required, must have been transported with it; whereas, by keeping its march near and parallel to the shores of the Persian Gulf, the army was always within reach of its transports. Nor could the Kiah, with common prudence, have left Abdul Aziz with a strong garrison in El Hassa, and proceeded on to attack Dereyah; for in that case his communication with his fleet of transports would have been cut off, and he must have placed himself with a very limited quantity of supplies, between the father, in possession of one strong fort in his front, and the son, of another in his rear or on his flank. The failure of the expedition was entirely owing to the improper, spiritless, and cowardly manner in which Ally commenced the attack on El Hassa. I was assured by a person who accompanied the expedition, that the battery with which the Kiah pretended to breach the fort was in the first instance so placed, that had a breach been effected, the Turks would have had the river to cross in the face of the enemy; and in the next, that the batteries were erected at so great a distance from the walls of the fort, that most of the shells and balls never reached it; the former exploding in the air, and the latter, if any of them

did reach thither, producing no effect. When the attack on Lassa failed, it was easy to predict that the expedition could not be successful; and the only merit the Kiah had was patching up a truce with Saoud, by which the shattered remains of his forces were permitted to retire. Besides this, Mahommed Bey, an Arab, one of the paçha's council, accompanied the Kiah as his chief adviser: —this man had large territorial possessions in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, and had been long supposed to entertain a secret understanding with Saoud, which the event of this campaign, and the manner in which it was conducted, seemed rather to confirm than refute.

With the Kiah, on his return to Bagdad, a Wahauby officer arrived to receive the ratification from the paçha of the truce entered into by the Kiah, and I was invited by the paçha, I know not for what reason, to be present at this person's first audience. The palace at Bagdad is situated on the Tigris; and consists of three large square courts, besides the private or women's apartments of the paçha and the Kiah. The side of both these courts next the river is taken up with the public dewans or halls of audience of the paçha and his minister; and as both of these personages had been for some time prisoners at Schyras, during the reign of Kerim Khan, these rooms were splendidly fitted up, after the Persian manner, with pillars covered with small pieces of looking-glass, handsome coloured awnings, to let down occasionally, and fine marble

parapets. The court occupied by the minister was the southernmost, or the lowest down the river Tigris; one side of which contained a showy hall of audience, and the other three sides were appropriated to stables for his horses, barracks for his ordinary guard, and apartments for some of his officers. The intermediate square between the paçha's apartment and the Kiah's, contained the barracks of a corps called the Tiffungees, and the stables of the Georgians of the paçha's household, sheds for the artillery, and barracks for the artillerymen and bombardiers. The tops of all these buildings were furnished with parapets, on which troops could stand either for show or defence.

On the day appointed for the reception of the Wahauby envoy, nothing was omitted which the Turks thought could tend to give him a proper idea of the paçha's splendour and power; and the etiquette of that court was broken through by the appointment of Kiah, who was a paçha of two tails, to attend this envoy to his audience of Suleiman. The envoy entered the precincts of the palace in the square belonging to the Kiah; there the horses in rich furniture were standing at their pickets, and the minister's guards and household, gaily habited, filling the square and roof of the buildings. In the next square the Tiffungees were all drawn out, the paçha's horses standing at picket, the cannon run out from under their sheds, and the artillerymen and bombardiers standing by

them; besides which, in this square were several of the paçha's Georgians, mounted on superb horses, and magnificently clothed, playing at the jireed. At the gate of the paçha's court, which is something like a *porte-cochère*, were Caupoujie Baçhi,* and all the officers belonging to his establishment, superbly dressed, who all walked a few steps from the gate to receive the Kiah and the envoy.

I had been desired to reach the palace previously to the envoy's entrance to the paçha's apartments, and I had done so very willingly, for I was exceedingly anxious to see as much of this extraordinary ceremony as I could; from the entrance of the Paçha's court to the foot of the steps which lead into the room where the paçha was sitting, a double row of Georgians, richly dressed, with the Kasnadar Agasi or treasurer at their head, were placed; and between them the Kiah and the envoy walked, till the Kiah arrived at the corner of the open room where the paçha was sitting above, and then he stopped immediately under his chief: the envoy proceeded towards the foot of the staircase which led into the room, and the high officers of the paçha's household prepared to perform the customary compliment of taking the envoy under the arms to assist him in mounting the stairs; this however he did not permit them to do; but with great gravity and dignity unsupported marched up the stairs, entered the room, and before any further

* Literally, "Guardian of the Gate."

ceremony could take place, sat himself down at a small distance immediately opposite the paçha, and addressed him in Arabic as follows:—"Hoy Suleiman! "peace be on all those who think right. Abdul Aziz "has sent me to deliver to you this letter, and to re- "ceive from you the ratification of an agreement "made between his son, Saoud, and your servant "Ally; let it be done soon, and in good form; and the "curse of God be on him who acts treacherously. "If ye seek instruction, Abdul Aziz will afford it."* This ended, the envoy, to the utter astonishment and apparent confusion of the paçha, rose, and departed; and what will be scarcely believed, this strange scene was represented to the court of Constantinople as if Abdul Aziz had sent a person to Bagdad, to solicit as a favor from the paçha the fulfilment of the Kiah's agreement with him. There was nothing in the dress of the envoy different from that which is worn by the commonest Arab of the desert; and the contrast between the splendid display, silken robes, furs, and diamonds of the paçha, and the mean attire of the Arab, was in perfect keeping with the rest of the scene; and so indeed was the letter which the envoy delivered to the paçha from Abdul Aziz, for it was written on a piece of paper not of the cleanest, and about four inches square.[8] On leaving the paçha, I visited the Kiah,

* This last was the greatest insult which could be offered to the paçha, as it was a declaration to his face of the impurity of his faith.

whom I found much chagrined at what had passed, and evidently regretting that I should have witnessed it; he said peevishly:—"the Ouzbegs may "be proverbial for bad manners, but the Arabs "beat them all to pieces."

I have gone into the expedition against the Wahauby under Ally Paçha, and audience of Abdul Aziz's envoy at Bagdad, at some length, because the first had the effect of teaching the Wahaubys to despise the Ottoman troops, and because the last may serve perhaps to give the reader some idea of the singular manners of those sectaries.

The truce entered into by Ally was not of long continuance, and the fault of its infraction was laid by the Turks on Twiney, the Shaik of the Montefeeks. Be this as it may, a caravan of Persian pilgrims was attacked and plundered, between Hillah and Meshed Ally; the neighbourhood of Bassora was again visited by marauding parties of the Wahaubys; and in 1801, the lamentable business at Kerbela[9] took place, which spread a gloom over the Mahommedan world, and elated to a high degree the character and confidence of the sectaries.

The disastrous capture of Kerbela afforded Suleiman Paçha two causes of serious alarm: the one, the light in which the matter would be taken up by the Ottoman government; the other, the light in which it would be viewed by the king of Persia, who, no doubt, would demand

ample reparation for the massacre and bondage of some of his subjects; for the plunder of the rich offerings, made to the sacred tombs by many of the Persian monarchs, his predecessors; and for the pecuniary losses sustained by the merchants of Persia. The Porte would willingly have wiped away any part of this sad and heavy account, by the deposition of the paçha; but the paçha well knew, though the *will* for such an act towards him was not wanting, the *power* of executing it, unless Persia promised, and was permitted to assist, was more than problematical. The paçha lost no time therefore in using every method in his power to appease the anger of both courts; and for this purpose presents were despatched to the Porte and Persia, and another expedition against Dereyah set on foot, composed entirely of Arab forces, with the exception of a few Turkish irregular horse. These troops Twiney led directly towards Dereyah, and had arrived within five or six days march of Dereyah, when he was murdered by a slave in his tent. With the infamous intention of this slave, Saoud was probably acquainted; for he immediately advanced, and the forces lately under command of Twiney dispersed; but the Turks being unacquainted with the roads, many of them were slain, whilst their comrades the Arabs escaped. Several of these poor creatures, who had wandered in flight, returned the following night to the well of Sezbeyhy in quest of water, hoping either to

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pass unnoticed, or to be received as prisoners. To these Saoud gave no quarter, but on this occasion the Bedouins manifested a remarkable trait of their character; some secreted their straggling enemies in their tents, dismissed them before morning, and gave them water for the road; whilst others, with a strange sort of humanity, allowed their victims to slake their thirst previously to receiving their death-blow.*

From the year 1798 to 1806, the Wahauby chief had acquired a great increase of power and consequence, which may in some degree be accounted for, by the manner in which the Porte during that time was occupied with the affairs of Egypt and by the decease of Suleiman Paçha of Bagdad; which threw that paçhalik into confusion, operated the dispersion of the treasures Suleiman had amassed, and ultimately put that powerful government into the hands of the weak and head-strong Ally, the late Kiah. The subsequent destruction of the Mamelukes in Egypt, gave the Porte and the paçha of that province the power of totally destroying the Wahauby government, and of doing what was little to be expected, that is, exhibiting as a prisoner at Constantinople, Abdallah Ibn Saoud, the last Wahauby prince.

We will now take a hasty view of the Wahauby

* All great men who receive the *order* of the bowstring in Turkey, are allowed two things previously to being invested with it—time for prayer and a draught of water.

proceedings up to this time, in the southern and western parts of Arabia. The Shereef of Mecca who was highly interested in the regular arrival of the Mahommedan pilgrimage, which the Wahauby was anxious to put a stop to, had early commenced a series of hostilities against him; and these had been sometimes successful and sometimes otherwise; but both the doctrines and the power of the Wahauby had spread and increased much amongst the Arabs to the southward of Tayef, whilst the defection of Othman el Medhayfe, the shereef* Ghaleb's brother, enabled the Wahauby to take, in 1802, the town of Tayef, situated about 50 miles eastward of Mecca.

This town was at that time the summer residence of the Meccans; in the time of the prophet it was a place of considerable strength, and he had obtained possession of it after a siege of twenty days. It is generally believed, that it is of this siege, and the terms demanded by the inhabitants, that the prophet thus speaks in the chapter of the Koran, entitled, "the Night Journey:"—"It "wanted but little, but the unbelievers had tempt-"ed thee to swerve from the instructions which "we had revealed unto thee, that thou shouldest

* The English translators of the Bible have very comically turned this word, which means "the honourable men," into *sheriffs*, which, if we credit Johnson, is of Saxon derivation. This is a strange anachronism. The Latin vulgate translates it *præfector*. The Septuagint—*καὶ τοὺς επ' ἐξουσιῶν.*

" devise concerning us a different thing, and then " they would have taken thee for their friend; " and unless we had confirmed thee, thou hadst " certainly been very near inclining unto them a " a little."—SALE'S *Koran.*

It appears that the terms demanded of the prophet by the Tayefans were extraordinary; for they were, that they might be free from the legal contribution of alms; from observing the appointed times of prayer; that they might keep possession of their old idol, Allât, for a certain time; that their territory might be declared a place of security, like that of Mecca, and so not be violated; and lastly, what was still more extraordinary, that if the other Arabs asked the prophet the reason of his granting such concession, he should say, God had commanded him to do so.* It seems, however, that the present poor Tayefans were in no condition either to exact or to expect any conditions from Othman el Medhayfe, who, when he had taken the place, probably from his enmity to his brother-in-law, the shereef, ruined all the good buildings, and massacred the inhabitants. In the same year, Othman took Gonfonde, a port which brought the Wahaubys in contact with the Red Sea.

It was in this year also that the Syrian caravan, which departs from Damascus, and comprises the pilgrims from all parts of Asia Minor, Constanti-

* See SALE'S *Koran.*

nople, and the two Irâks Araby and Agemy, performed its pilgrimage for the last time; for, in 1803, the Wahauby had effected the complete conquest of the Hedjaz, having in the early part of that year laid siege to Mecca, which was bravely defended by Shaik Ghaleb, the shereef; who, at last, contrived to leave the town with his family, having previously set fire to such part of the furniture of the palace as he could not carry away. Mecca then submitted to Abdul Aziz, whose troops, on entering the sacred city, committed no excesses. The shops were opened next day, and every thing was purchased by the troops with ready money. These events took place in April and May; and on the 13th November following, Abdul Aziz was assassinated, whilst at his prayers, by a Persian, whose relations the Wahaubys had murdered at Kerbela. Abdul Aziz therefore did not live to see the complete conquest of Hedjaz, which was effected by his son Saoud.

In speaking of these transactions, I speak of them as the transactions of Abdul Aziz, he being then the head of the Wahaubys; but they were principally conducted by his son Saoud, who succeeded him, and who placed at the head of the Meccan government the brother of the fugitive shereef Ghaleb.

Ghaleb fled from Mecca to Jedda, where he had a large ship, and to this place Saoud followed; but not being able to force the walls, retreated

northward to the desert. In July, Ghaleb resumed the government and possession of Mecca, in consequence of the Wahauby having left but a slender garrison in the castles, which submitted on conditions; and Abdul Mayen, the brother of Ghaleb, whom the Wahauby had appointed as governor, followed the example of the fort. Ghaleb, however, soon found that the secure possession of what he had thus reacquired, was best ensured by embracing, or appearing to embrace, the Wahauby doctrines; by which measure his towns and their revenues were restored to him, and several tribes of Bedouins were left under his influence. And in the arrangement made on this occasion, it was agreed, that the Wahaubys should in future be exempt from paying port duties at Jedda.

A succession of acquisitions made by Saoud in this part of Arabia, was crowned in 1804 with that of the capture of Medina, where Hassan el Kalajy, a principal man of the city, had usurped and despotically exercised the supreme power. Previously to the surrender of the town, Hassan seized on the treasures belonging to the prophet's tomb, and divided them amongst his adherents. Medina was treated differently to Mecca. Tribute was demanded from its inhabitants; the Turkish officer called Aga al Haram, or Guardian of the Sanctuary, was compelled to leave the town, but private property was respected. It is to be presumed, that the inhabitants of Medina shewed a disposition to be more lax in their mo-

rals and devotions than their neighbours of Mecca, for the Wahaubys here most rigidly enforced a regular observance of prayer, as well as the disuse of tobacco. Not long after its surrender, Saoud visited Medina, and stripped the prophet's tomb of the few valuables that had been left by Hassan el Kulajy. He made an attempt to destroy the great dome placed over the tomb, but either from the solidity of its structure, or from Saoud's want of proper instruments and perseverance, the attempt failed, and the tomb itself was left uninjured.

The Porte asserted, but without truth, that Saoud prohibited the pilgrimage to Medina, he only forbade, as idolatrous, any prayers or exclamations made at the tomb, as he had formerly forbidden the use of such ceremonies at the tombs of other Mahommedan saints.

In 1804, a Wahauby chief, named Abou Nokta, shaik of Azya, got a temporary possession of Loheya and Hodeyda,[10] the richest towns on the coast of Yemen, both of which he plundered, and although he afterwards judged it discreet to retire to the mountains, yet he contrived so to harass and alarm Shereef Hamoud, the governor, or prince of Yemen, that he declared his adhesion to the Wahauby doctrines and cause.

Notwithstanding Mecca had fallen into the Wahaubys' power, the shereef, from his name and office, continued possessed of considerable influence amongst many of the Bedouin tribes, which obliged Saoud to observe certain terms towards

him; and Ghaleb, on the different occasions of Saoud's visiting Mecca for the pilgrimage, always sent to meet him, at a distance from the town, presents of great value for himself, his officers, and the women and children who accompanied him; and was so attentive in this respect that for the last mentioned persons, there were always new clothes and sweetmeats found among the other articles of his presents.

I have already mentioned that 1803 was the last year in which the Syrian caravan performed its pilgrimage, but the pilgrims from India, Yemen, and Africa, who landed at Jedda, were never prevented by Saoud from going on to Mecca, provided they conformed to the Wahauby precepts and conducted themselves with propriety.

Things remained in this state during the years 1806, 1807, and 1808, the only event of importance being an expedition planned and undertaken by the Wahauby troops against the villages in the neighbourhood of Bassora, in which they were defeated and overpowered by the Montefeek Arabs, leaving on the field near 1500 of their force.

The acquisitions of territory and acknowledgments of submission which Saoud had received from the inhabitants of the western side of the Persian Gulf, and the northern side of the Red Sea, had created a very fierce and savage race of pirates in those waters, who plundered all the trading craft they could overpower, and massacred their crews; and to such a height had their confi-

dence arisen, that British merchants' vessels became objects of their attack. The first severe chastisement these pirates, who were chiefly of the Jowassim tribe, received, was from the hands of Captain Corbett, of his Majesty's frigate La Nereide of 36 guns, on her return down the Gulf, after landing at Bushire myself and the British mission to Persia.

Between Muscat and Cape Musseldom, Captain Corbett fell in with three piratical dows, carrying about 100 men each. That officer soon discovered what they were, and had the pleasure to observe their commanders determined to approach the frigate, taking her probably for a large merchantman bound from India to Bushire and Bassora. To give the more effect to the pirate's conjecture, Captain Corbett manœuvred as if he was alarmed at their force; and so managed, that two of the dows came alongside him and were preparing to board; but the pirates had scarcely touched the side of La Nereide, when they discovered the nature of the force they had prepared to attack, and would fain have fled from it, but Captain Corbett gave them no time. One dow having prepared to board on the starboard side, and the other on the larboard, Captain Corbett fired both broadsides at once, and at the same moment both dows disappeared from the surface of the sea; he then set all sail, stood right across the third, which was at some distance, endeavouring to escape, and ran her down. I believe that not a man of any of these

vessels was saved by assistance from the Nereide. They had no reason to expect—they had less to deserve it—after the cruel massacre they had made of the little Sylph's[11] crew, which vessel sailed from Bombay in company with H. M. ships La Nereide and Sapphire, on the 12th September, 1808, having on board a person recommended to me by Mr. Duncan the governor of Bombay, to serve as Persian secretary. Whenever these scoundrels made a capture, whether the crew were unconverted Mahommedans or Christians, they gave no quarter; so that if on this occasion they left any to lament their fate, such could only have been their Wahauby brethren.

The temper with which the British Government at Bombay had for some time submitted to the insults offered to it by the Wahauby pirates, and the neglect with which it treated the reports of the losses sustained by the merchants of that Presidency, was rather a matter of wonder than applause; but at last the capture of the Minerva merchant ship, and the barbarous circumstances attending that capture, were judged sufficient to fill up the measure of the Wahaubys' iniquities, and to rouse the vengeance of the Indian Government. An expedition of considerable force against their ports was committed to the care of two officers of undoubted merit and ability. To Colonel Lionel Smith was entrusted the military; to Captain Wainwright of H. M. ship La Chiffonne, the naval departments of it. In October, 1809, Captain Gordon, of H. M.

ship Caroline, fell in with 27 piratical dows, when a boat manned from that vessel, under the command of Lieutenant Wood, boarded one of them with great gallantry, and finally carried her.

The expedition under Colonel Smith and Captain Wainwright attacked and took possession of the piratical town and fort of Rhas el Khima,[12] a port situated within the Gulf of Persia, on the northern side of that neck of land which ends in Cape Musseldom. The dows, boats, and stores, were all destroyed, and the town ransacked; and as the Colonel informs the Goverment at Bombay "from "70 to 80 of these vagabonds were killed, and "many more must have fallen in the previous "bombardment. The total of our loss was 1 offi- "cer killed, 2 wounded, and 1 serjeant, and 7 pri- "vates." The colonel concludes his despatch with "I hope it will be found that the pirates at this port "have received a handsome chastisement."

From Rhas el Khima the expedition proceeded to Ling, where twenty dows and boats were destroyed without our sustaining any loss, and from this place the expedition sailed to Luft, situated on the north side of the island of Kishme, where they arrived on the 26th November; and on the appearance of the fleet, Mullah Hossein, who had the command of the place, sent on board H. M. ship Chiffonne, to treat for the surrender of the dows and boats, which he had once agreed to do and afterwards retracted.

The enemy had ranged their dows and boats

under the cover of a small stone fort at the western extremity of the town. In the afternoon of the 27th, 300 men, consisting of the light company of the 47th, half a company of the 65th, with the royal marines of the Chiffonne, under the command of the gallant Lieutenant Drury, and a detachment of native infantry, assisted by a party of seamen under the command of Lieutenant Chrichton of the Chiffonne, who were employed in bringing up a howitzer, were landed, and having taken possession of the town, proceeded to the attack of the fort, and to the destruction of the dows and boats; while one of the vessels which drew little water was employed in keeping up a smart fire on the fort. The dows and boats, eleven in number, some of which were very large, were completely destroyed. The fort made an obstinate resistance; but was at last given up, as well as all the property which had previously been plundered from our ally, the Imaum of Muscat. The fort was afterwards delivered to an officer of the Imaum's, and Mullah Hossein was permitted to depart. Our loss here was 10 killed and 56 wounded.

The expedition then returned to Muscat; from thence it sailed again on the 24th December, and on the 31st reached Shinaas,[13] accompanied by near 4000 of the troops of the Imaum of Muscat. Our transactions here, which close the proceedings of this expedition, exhibit such decided traits of the national character of the British, as well as of the people opposed to them, that I trust my reader will

forgive me if I relate at some length what took place at Shinaas. Shinaas is situated on the sea shore of the province of Kerman, and therefore appears in the map to make a portion of the country under subjection and allegiance to the king of Persia; an attack on any part of which at a time when not only an accredited minister was residing at the Persian court, but a treaty of friendship and subsidy had been but recently concluded on our part with that monarch, might startle such as are not aware that it is much easier for an European geographer to lay down on a map the provinces of Persia, than for the king to retain in complete possession and obedience to him the provinces so laid down. The fact is, that the authority of the Persian Government, whether the seat of it was at Ispahan, at Schyras, or at Tæhran, always sat very light on the towns and villages situated on the shores of the Persian Gulf; and from the inhabitants of Shinaas having adopted the tenets of the Wahaubys, the king of Persia viewed them in the same light as the British Government did; that is to say, as hostile and fanatical Arabs, and not as Persian subjects; so much so, that when I communicated to his Majesty an account of our success against them, he said "Bareikullah"—bravely done.

On the arrival of the combined troops at Shinaas, the fort was summoned to surrender, and on its refusal, was bombarded by the ships and gunboats. The situation however was too distant to

admit of that mode of attack being effectual; the troops therefore were landed on the morning of the 2nd January, about half a mile to the southward of the town, on a sandy beach, which is often overflowed during a high spring tide and a southerly wind. The position, however, was an excellent one, as the troops had a back water between them and the sea, and running parallel to it about forty yards in front. The Imaum's troops were posted on the left of the British. A ten inch and a half mortar, with a couple of field pieces, were taken across the creek, with an intention of attacking the fort on its southern side, when a party of the enemy's cavalry made their appearance from the woods which ran along the coast about a mile from the sea, and commenced an attack; but they were at length put to flight by our advanced party. This circumstance, which shewed that the plan of our operations might be exposed to frequent interruptions of this kind, determined Lieutenant Colonel Smith to change his original design. He accordingly entrenched himself in the position above mentioned, and erected a battery against the sea fort. The zeal of Captain Wainwright soon lined this battery with two 24 pounders, one 12 pounder carronade, and three brass 12 pounders from the fleet, in addition to three brass field pieces belonging to the detachment. A very heavy fire was opened at day-break ou the 3rd, and between nine and ten o'clock a breach was made in the curtain, and shortly afterwards one of the towers fell

in. The guns were then directed to the other towers, from which however it was found impossible to drive the enemy. Two o'clock was the hour appointed for storming, in which a body of 400 of the Imaum troops were to assist. While the different detachments were taking up their stations of attack, the Imaum troops, from misunderstanding the orders, got before the British, and entered the breach first; but our soldiers observing this, soon got up to them and passed them, on which those troops readily yielded to their Christian comrades the remaining labor and honor of the day.

By five o'clock every part of the fort had surrendered, and was given up to our ally the Imaum of Muscat, whose troops took possession of it.

The despatches from the officers on this expedition agree, that a more obstinate resistance than that which was made by the enemy could scarcely be imagined—his defences nearly battered to ruins, and the greatest part of his garrison lying in mangled heaps, while the body of his fort was occupied by the British and Muscat troops, he still persevered, at every the least cessation of the musquetry, to fire upon his foe from two towers, which were not then sufficiently destroyed to preclude all shelter.

Attempts to scale these towers were made in vain; every access to them was strongly barricaded, and defended by long spears, whilst showers of stones were poured from their tops upon the assailants. Evening was fast approaching, humanity and other

considerations called for an endeavour to terminate such a scene of carnage; and the few survivors were called upon to surrender, and save their lives. The answer returned to this humane summons was "death rather than submission." Two 12 pounders and three field pieces were now brought up from the battery, and a heavy fire with double shot was opened close under the towers, in order to level them. The Wahauby pirates still kept up their fire, and seemed determined to bury themselves in the ruins of their fort. The hand grenades and fire balls which were made use of by our troops, were often returned with a desperate resolution on the British, before they burst. The towers were now rapidly falling in, when every soul must have perished:—the firing was ordered to cease, and another effort made to save their lives.

Men who never gave quarter, were unlikely to conceive the offer of it to be sincere; but at last, one amongst them who had formerly some opportunity of becoming acquainted with the British character, came forward, and by this man's means the remainder of the Wahauby garrison agreed to surrender. Something of this obstinacy and disbelief proceeded from the deadly hatred existing between the pirates and our Muscat allies; for it is well known, that in many instances the British officers, at the imminent risk of their own lives, interfered to protect the pirates from the savage rage of the Muscat troops. In these benevolent and humane exertions, Colonel Smith shone emi-

nently conspicuous, and, after such a day, the reader no doubt will be astonished to learn that our loss amounted to no more than 1 killed and 11 wounded. The loss of the Wahaubys was computed at more than 400 killed.

On the 25th February, the whole of the troops employed on this expedition, except about 100, left with Captain Wainwright, returned to Bombay. To use the words of Colonel Smith "the handsome chastisement" which the Wahauby government received from this expedition, carried not only complete destruction to the points attacked, but cooled the ardour of the maritime Arab tribes to support the Wahauby, and in fact inflicted the first mortal wound on his power. After this, I am confident the reader will not censure me for copying the 3rd paragraph of a letter from the Governor-General of India, dated 7th March, and put into general orders at Bombay on 24th March, 1810.

Paragraph 3rd. "The complete success which "has attended all the operations of the expedition "to the Gulf of Persia, affords grounds for the "highest satisfaction, and reflects great honor on "Captain Wainwright and Lieutenant Colonel "Smith, who appear to have conducted all the "operations committed to their management with "distinguished zeal, prudence, promptitude, and "ability."

We must now turn our attention towards the operations commenced against the Wahauby by Mahommed Ally Paçha. The Paçha of Egypt,

who, with his sons Toussun and Ibrahim Paçha, contrary to the general expectation and predictions of the Mahommedan world, had the singular good fortune to put an end to the reign of these reformists and enthusiasts.

Previously to the invasion of Egypt by the French in the year 1798, it was well known how slight a degree of power the Porte possessed over that country; but the power she possessed over the Arabian tribes, bordering on the Arabian Gulf, and the towns situated on that Gulf, was, if possible, still less. The expulsion of the French by the joint efforts of the English and the Turks, and the murder of the Mamluke Beys by the Grand Admiral Hassan Paçha,[14] not only restored Egypt to the Turks, but gave them, what they had long lost, the government and rule of it.

In 1804, Mahommed Ally was appointed Paçha of Egypt; and in the instructions he received from the Porte, the point on which most stress was laid, was to attempt the reconquest from the Wahauby of the holy cities. There were several beys whom Hassan Paçha had not been able to entrap on board his ship, at the time of his massacre of these officers; and these having thus escaped the fate of their more credulous brethren, kept possession of several parts of Upper Egypt, and continued to be troublesome and hostile to the Ottoman authorities, possessing the lower and more fertile division of that country. In 1810, Mahommed Ally effected

a compromise with these beys, which caused them to abandon their pretensions upon all the Lower as well as the greater part of Upper Egypt; and under this compact, notwithstanding the lesson they had received in the former fate of their brethren, they were weak enough to trust their lives in the power of Ally Paçha; who caused the whole of them to be massacred in the castle at Cairo.(15)

Previously to that event, that is, in the end of the year 1809, Mahommed had commenced serious preparations to carry into effect the orders he had received from the Porte. For this purpose he constructed a flotilla, which in the beginning of 1811 consisted of twenty-eight large and small vessels, from 100 to 250 tons burthen, which were built at Suez, and the building of which had given employment to near 1000 workmen, chiefly Greeks and Europeans. Large magazines of corn and other provisions were formed at Suez, and as the vessels thus built were not fit to transport to the scene of action large bodies of cavalry, it became necessary to arrange the passage of these by land.

The fortified stations made use of by the Hadj caravans on the road from Cairo to Yembo, were still in possession of the Turks, and these were carefully repaired and strengthened by new walls, and by garrisons of Moggreb infantry, well accustomed to treat with the Bedouin Arabs. Such of these Arabs whose stations of resort were in the vicinity of these fortresses, received large pre-

sents from the paçha, for assisting him in the transport of stores from Cairo for the use of these garrisons. Besides this, Mahommed was provident enough to establish magazines at Cosseir, on the opposite side of the Arabian Gulf.

We left Shereef Ghaleb in the possession of Mecca; and also stated him, from his sacred character, to possess a certain influence with several Bedouin tribes; in consequence of which, he was rather feared and courted, than trusted by the Wahauby. Ghaleb was not wanting to himself in obtaining the best information both as to Mahommed Ally's designs, his position, his credit with the Porte, and the resources he could command; and when he found these to be greater than those of any paçha who had before attempted to force a possage into the Hedjaz, he entered into a secret correspondence with him, assuring him that his conversion to the Wahauby faith had been a matter of necessity; that it had never been sincere; and that he would, on the first appearance of a respectable Turkish force on the shores of Hedjaz, withdraw from all connexion with Saoud.

It was not likely, however, that two men so accomplished in deceit as Mahommed Ally Paçha and Shereef Ghaleb, would place much confidence in the professions made by the one to the other; but Mahommed Ally, in the course of their communications contrived to obtain from Ghaleb some important and useful information on the actual state

and force of the Wahaubys, on the dispositions of the Bedouins of Hedjaz, on the best mode of attacking Saoud, and the points from which such could most effectually be made.

In addition to this Mahommed Ally received great assistance, from the experience and judgment of Seyd Mohammed el Mahrouky, one of the principal merchants at Cairo, to whose care he entrusted the negociations and arrangements with the Bedouins in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea.

The state of things at that time in Egypt, caused Mohammed Ally to think it prudent, to commit the first expedition against the Wahauby, to his second son Toussun Bey assisted by Ahmed Aga, the paçha's Kasnadar or treasurer, and Seyd Mohammed el Mahrouky: and that the expedition might, if necessary, possess the power of confuting, as well as conquering, two learned theologians of Cairo were ordered to join it.

Burckhardt states this expedition to have consisted of about 1500 or 2000 infantry, chiefly Arnauts, under the command of Saleh Aga and Omar Aga. It embarked at Suez for Yembo, and took with them all the new built ships as transports for troops and provisions. The cavalry, with Toussun Bey and Ahmed Aga, and a body of Bedouin horse under the command of their shaik, of the Howeytal tribe, proceeded by land.

In the month of October, 1811, the troops landed from the transports near the town of Yembo, which

after a feeble resistance of two days surrendered on capitulation. The cavalry joined a fortnight afterwards; having, in consequence of the presents or bribes previously distributed amongst the Bedouins met with no impediment on their march. But the victors at Yembo, instead of pushing on, commenced negotiations, and consumed several months in this manner. The infantry were quartered in Yembo, and the cavalry encamped at a small distance from it.

In the course of these negotiations, Toussun Bey found that the information which his father had received from Shereef Ghaleb, was in several parts of it, incorrect; and in none more so, than as it respected the two great tribes of Harb and Teheyne; which whatever might be their dislike to the government of the Wahauby, were overawed by Saoud, and did not dare to make any motion in favour of the Turks; at least not until Toussun should have obtained some decided advantage: and the capture of Yembo, although it afforded Mahommed Ally's fleet a safe anchorage, could not be considered as that decisive stroke which the shaiks of these tribes desired to see before they declared in favor of the expedition.

It must be understood, however, that at the time when Yembo was taken possession of by the Turks, it was not garrisoned by the Wahauby, but by the troops of Shereef Ghaleb.[30] These fellows attempted resistance, and the inhabitants rose and

expelled them, fearing otherwise that the town might be exposed to assault from the savage troops of the besiegers. Ghaleb was a quiet spectator of this scene, and made excuses to Toussun Bey for not joining him, similar to those which the Bey had received from the shaiks of the Harb and Jeheyne Arabs.

It has been imagined, and probably with truth, that Ghaleb was willing if possible to let both parties weaken themselves, by war, and then drive them both out of Hedjaz; or if one suffered a signal defeat, then to join the conqueror. The impression Toussun was yet able to make on the Arabs, either by force or persuasion, was very small.

It now became necessary to open the campaign, which might have been best done by marching towards Mecca or Jedda; but this was attended with the difficulty of obliging Shereef Ghaleb, who occupied those towns, to decide on the part he would take; and Toussun, from circumstances, had too much reason to believe that that decision would not be in his favor. He therefore directed his course towards Medina, which is about six days march distant from Yembo.

Medina had always been considered as the strongest place in the province of Hedjaz, and as being of the greatest consequence to the Wahauby to possess, for by by its situation it might open or obstruct the passage of the Syrian Hadj, or pilgrims' caravan, which the Porte was particularly anxious should be re-established, and

therefore the capture of it might influence the Bedouins to declare themselves in favor of the Turks; and as Shereef Ghaleb, was much connected with that city, Toussun's resolution of attacking it, produced a promise of assistance from the shereef.

Leaving a garrison in Yembo, in January, 1812, Toussun Bey advanced against Medina. At two days' distance from Yembo, is the small town of Bedr,[17] famous for the battle which took place there, in the first year of Heigira, between Mahommed, and the tribe of Korcish, in which the latter were defeated. It is worth while, as we go along, to remark that, after this battle, disputes ran very high amongst the prophet's troops, respecting the division of the spoils, between the young men, who had fought, and the old men, who staid under the ensigns; the former insisting that they ought to have the whole, and the latter that they deserved a share. It was on this occasion, that Mahommed, on his return to Medina, pretended to have received the revelation of the eighth chapter of the Koran, the military regulations of which; are strictly adhered to by the Wahaubys. Bedr made a very slight resistance; the town is situated at the entrance of those mountains which Toussun had to pass, between Yembo and Medina; and as the Beni Arabs held the passes, some resistance was expected, but the Bey had no intelligence, nor had he the least idea that a large body of Saoud's troops were stationed to guard them.

After leaving a small garrison at Bedr, Toussun proceeded to Szafra, a place about eight hours from that town, and where at certain times a market or fair is held by the Beni Harbs. In this place some little fighting took place, but the Harbs eventually gave way, very probably with the design of leading the Turks into the defiles of the mountains.

At about four hours distance from Szafra, the road begins to wind through a pass of about sixty yards wide, enclosed on each side by steep and rugged mountains; and at the entrance of the pass is situated, in the midst of a grove of palm trees, the pleasant village of Tedeedeh, the principal residence of the Beni Harbs, who in former times were frequently accustomed to levy contributions on the Syrian pilgrim caravan, for the freedom of a safe passage through it. The defile extends in length about one hour and a half of a camel's journey, which may be estimated at something short of four English miles.

The Turks had no sooner entered this pass, than they were assailed by a larger body of Beni Harbs than they had met with at Szafra, who a second time gave way; and the Turks believing them to be completely routed, were fatally induced to pursue them into the very middle of the pass; when to their astonishment and confusion, they beheld the mountains covered on both sides with Wahauby troops, who had the day before arrived from Nejd. These troops were commanded by Saoud's

two sons, Abdallah and Faysal, and amounted to about 20,000 infantry, and from 6 to 800 horse.

Had Toussun now taken the prudent resolution of retreating to Tedeedeh, of which the Beni Harbs had allowed him to take possession, and fortified himself there as well as he could, he might have withstood the attack; since from their numbers it was impossible for the enemy, ill provided with provisions, to remain long on the ground, and so Toussun might have obtained an honorable capitulation.

The Turks, with difficulty, and the loss of their baggage, regained the plain:—had a large division of the Wahauby force in the meantime, pushed on over the hills to the mouth of the pass, the whole body of the Ottoman troops, either in the pass, or in the attempt to retreat out of it, must have been annihilated.

The military trophies captured from the Turks on this day were many; four field pieces were taken, but the richest part of the plunder consisted in the girdles of the slaughtered Arnauts, who had concealed in them the spoils of the Egyptian mamelukes. The loss of the Turks is said to have amounted to 1200 slain, for no quarter was given, and consequently no prisoners were made. Toussun had throughout this disastrous day behaved most gallantly; he had tried to cover the rear of his fugitive troops, and had ineffectually rallied them on their reaching the plain. But, on his

arrival at Bedr, he set fire to his camp, having no means of removing it, nor of taking his military chest with him to the sea shore nearest that place. The spot to which Toussun directed his retreat, was the little bay of Boreyha, where several of his ships lay at anchor, and from thence he embarked, with very few attendants, for Yembo. Fortunately for Toussun Bey, the Wahaubys imagined that he had retreated on a large reserve force at Bedr, and did not pursue him.

When the Wahaubys discovered their mistake, they sent out parties to scour the country to the walls of Yembo, and Shereef Ghaleb considered this defeat of the Turks as giving the Wahaubys an advantage sufficiently decisive to justify him in immediately joining them in person at Bedr. It was at first proposed by these confederates to storm the town of Yembo, but this is reported to have been laid aside from the consideration that those Arabs within the town who had cordially joined the Turks, knowing they should not receive quarter, would fight with desperation. The Wahaubys, after blockading the town a few days, retreated, and left the Beni Harb Arabs to harrass the Turks, and cut off such supplies as might be attempted to be thrown into the town from the country.

Saleh and Omar Agas, the two commanders of Arnaut infantry, disheartened by the signal defeat at the pass of Szafra or Tedeedeh, spoke the lan-

guage and sentiments of the troops, in declaring it useless to prolong the campaign in Hedjaz. These officers were permitted to retire, and they were joined by numbers who were discontented with the paçha. They proceeded to Cossier, and on their approach to Cairo, assumed so menacing an attitude, that Mahommed Ally found it expedient to use threats and presents to prevail on them to quit Egypt, and his alarm on their account was not lessened by the recollection of their conduct in Upper Egypt.

In consequence of this, they embarked at Alexandria, possessors of the plunder they had acquired.

In the fatiguing passage from Suez to Yembo, Toussun had lost a number of horses, and he was now forsaken by most of the Bedouin cavalry who had joined him on that march. Two hundred of these useful animals had been killed at Tedeedeh, and when he arrived at Yembo all which could be mustered did not exceed that number. These again were diminished from the scarcity and dearness of fodder, which obliged the owners to part with their horses, and those who thus sold them were sent back to Cairo to remount themselves.

Mahommed Ally was not inactive in endeavouring to repair the losses his son had sustained, and to set on foot another expedition. The whole spring and summer of 1812 were passed in these endeavours, and daily reinforcements of stores and troops were arriving at Yembo. But what was of

equal, if not greater importance, Seyd Mahommed Mahrouky succeeded by large presents in gaining over to the Turkish cause several powerful branches of the tribe of Beni Harb, which occupied the passes near Szafra and Tedeedeh. The same means applied to Shereef Ghaleb, induced him to acquaint Toussun, that he had only joined the Wahauby from fear; and even to renew his offer of opening to the Bey the gates of Jedda and Mecca, as soon as the Turkish troops should possess Medina.

It was in October, 1812, when Toussun Bey thought himself sufficiently strong to make a second attempt on Medina. His hopes of success were encouraged from the Beni Harbs on the road having become his friends, from many of the inhabitants of Tedeedeh having enlisted under his banners, and from the information he had received that Saoud remained inactive in the Nejd. He fixed his own head-quarters at Bedr, and gave the command of the troops to Ahmed Aga, his father's Kasnadar. They advanced towards Medina by the same route which had the year before witnessed their defeat—they passed unmolested,* they left a strong garrison in Tedeedeh, and arrived without even a skirmish under the walls of Medina.

In this city they found a strong Wahauby garrison, well provided with every thing necessary for a long siege. Saoud's inactivity on this occa-

* This appears very unaccountable.

sion has never been accounted for, but it probably arose from that confidence in his own resources and power, and from the contempt of the Turks which his late victory at Tedeedeh was but too likely to inspire; especially as that victory had greatly extended his authority and reputation with the northern Arabs. To balance his inactivity at Hedjaz, he had collected tribute from the Arab tribes near Bagdad, Aleppo, and Damascus.* Besides this, Saoud had just reason to think that Medina would stand a long siege; during which he could straiten the besiegers in their supplies of provision, and so force them at last to retire. In this case, it was most probable that the tribes of Beni Harb would abandon their new allies; and if so, it would be in his power to destroy the one, and severely chastise the other.

Frequent skirmishes between the besiegers and besieged took place under the walls of Medina; and at last the latter were driven by the former into the inner town; from whence the garrison on the approach of the Turks drove the inhabitants, who took an active part against their former friends. The inner town of Medina is guarded by a strong high wall, and a species of citadel or fortified castle, for the battering and breaching of which the Turks had nothing to produce but light field pieces. During a siege of fourteen or fifteen days, the Wahaubys made several sorties, and the

* This might probably be one reason for his neglecting to occupy the passes.

Turks laid a mine, but in so clumsy a manner, that the Wahaubys destroyed it; a second was better planned and conducted, and about the middle of November, whilst the Wahaubys were occupied at their prayers, it was exploded, with the effect of throwing down a sufficient part of the wall to admit the Arnauts to enter the town. The Wahaubys thus surprised, fled to the castle, but in this attempt about 1000 were butchered in the streets, and the town was completely plundered. About 1500 Wahaubys found shelter in the castle, a building situated on a solid rock, difficult therefore to mine, and which the Turks had no artillery capable of battering with effect. Want of provision obliged them to capitulate, on the promise of safe conduct, the preservation of their baggage entire, and of the necessary supply of camels being furnished to those who might desire to return to the Nejd.

When the garrison marched out, they found however no more than fifty of the three hundred camels which it had been agreed should be supplied; thus they were obliged to abandon great part of their baggage, and to carry on their shoulders such part of it as they esteemed most valuable. But they had no sooner cleared the precincts of the town, than Ahmed Aga, like a true Turk, permitted his soldiers to pursue them, to strip and massacre such as they overtook, so that those only who were mounted on camels escaped. These fortunate fugitives were chiefly Arabs of the Asyr

tribe, who afterwards in the course of this war, made an eminently obstinate resistance against Mahommed Ally Paçha.

There was at this time at Medina, an Arab chief, named Massoud el Medheyan, whom Saoud had appointed shaik not only over the whole of the Beni Harb, but had committed to his rule several other tribes. When the Wahaubys were driven into the inner town, this personage retreated with his family and about forty of his men to a garden house, in a date-tree grove, about an hour's journey from Medina. And here he entered into a capitulation with the Turks for the safety of himself, his family, and followers, as well as their baggage; and, under this capitulation, occupied a house in the suburbs, where he deposited his family and goods. But after the garrison of the castle were so basely massacred, the Turks plundered this house, killed his sons and attendants, and put himself in irons, and sent him to Yembo. El Medheyan in his passage through Bedr, contrived to escape from his guards in the night, and sought refuge with some of the Beni Harbs, who, to the eternal disgrace of their tribe, were prevailed on by Turkish gold to deliver him up; and he and Hassan el Kaladjy, who had usurped the government of Medina before the Wahaubys took the town, were sent to Constantinople and beheaded.

Subsequently to the taking of Medina, an expedition under the command of Mustafa Bey, the

brother-in-law of Mahommed Ally, consisting of 1500 infantry, advanced from Yembo towards Jedda and Mecca.

Shereef Ghaleb, intimidated by the fall of Medina, sent messengers to Mustafa, inviting him to his towns; in consequence of which a few hundred men were detached to Jedda, whilst the principal corps advanced towards Mecca; from which El Medhayfe, the Wahauby commander, retired towards Tayef, a few hours before Mustafa's arrival, who made his entry into Mecca in January, 1813. The property of the Meccans was respected, and Shereef Ghaleb joined the Turks with 1000 Arabs and negro slaves. In a fortnight after the capture of Mecca, an attack was made on Tayef, from which El Medhayfe fled, and Ghaleb and Mustafa Bey entered the town. This town had been in the hands of the Wahauby for the space of ten years, and as Burckhardt observes, had suffered more than any other town in the Hedjaz.

Flushed with his success, Mustafa Bey pushed on and attacked the town of Taraba. Taraba is situated in a sort of forest of palms, and its inhabitants had prudence enough to surround it with a wall and a ditch. Mustafa Bey, however, met a severe check on his march in the mountains between Tayef and Taraba, and suffered the loss of 400 or 500 men, before he could effect his return to Tayaf.

Othman Medhayfe, the brother-in-law of Shereef

Ghaleb, employed himself in scouring the country with his light troops, frequently interrupting the Turkish communication with Mecca, and thereby seriously embarrassing the garrison of Tayef. Ghaleb still recollected that his brother-in-law had been the principal cause of the surrender of Mecca to the Wahaubys, and a desire of revenge induced him to offer a reward of five thousand dollars for his capture. This was accomplished shortly after, in the following manner.

At the distance of four or five hours from Tayef, there is a sort of castle or fortified palace, called Byssel, where, as Ghaleb was informed, Medhayfe had been residing for some days. A strong detachment, from the garrison of Tayef, was ordered to surround the castle, and set it on fire, which they did. Medhayfe, with about thirty of his followers and his friends, rushed through the flames, and cut their way through the enemy; but his mare being wounded, became faint, and he was obliged to dismount, and endeavour to escape on foot. Tired and worn down, he trusted for refuge to a tent of an Ateybe Bedouin, who ignominiously, for the sake of Ghaleb's proferred reward, seized him, and carried him to his brother-in-law. Ghaleb loaded the captive with chains, and delivered him to the Turks. At the time when Mahommed Ally sent his youngest son to deliver to the Grand Signior the keys of the holy cities, this noble captive accompanied him, and immediately after his

arrival at Constantinople, was beheaded. Thus the Wahauby lost their best partizan, and Ghaleb, by his blind desire of vengeance, made himself more dependent on the Turks.

Thus was the province of Hedjaz nearly reduced under the obedience of its former masters, and the Sultan might again, with truth, assume the title of Khadem el harramun-es-Shereifeen, servant or guardian of the holy cities. The Cairo caravan of pilgrims performed the pilgrimage with its usual pomp, but still the Syrian was unable to do so. In November, 1812, Toussun Bey, in reward for his services, was created by the Porte a paçha of three tails, appointed governor of Jedda, and Mahommed Ally's Dewan Effendisi, or chief secretary, was made governor of Medina.

Notwithstanding all this, the power of Saoud was only so far broken, as it was affected by the five chief cities of Hedjaz being in possession of the Turks. The whole of the tribes eastward of that range of mountains, running parallel with the sea from north to east, remained obedient and faithful to him. But the advantages obtained by the Turks, were sufficient to determine Mahommed Ally to repair to the scene of action; probably under the hope of securing to himself the honor and reputation of the final destruction of the Wahauby,—and Egypt, at this time, was in such a state of peaceable subjection, that he was able, with propriety and safety, to execute his design.

The forces which he mustered for this expedition, consisted of 2000 infantry, which embarked at Suez, and a corps of cavalry, nearly equal in number, which proceeded by land, taking with them about 8000 camels. Toussun Paçha had orders also to assemble troops at Mecca. Mahommed Ally arrived at Jedda in September, 1813; Shereef Ghaleb happening to be there at the time, waited on the paçha, and it was at this interview that they entered into a compact, sworn to by both parties on the Koran, and afterwards, at the desire of Ghaleb, more solemnly ratified in the temple of Mecca, "*each never to attempt any "thing contrary to the interest, safety, or life, of "the other.*"

After the experience Ghaleb had had of the real value of Ottoman promises and oaths, his self delusion in requiring such securities from Mahommed Ally, and his trusting to them, is not easily accounted for; nor will the reader, if he reflects on the character of the paçha, be much astonished at the result of Ghaleb's credulity. When the conquest of the Hedjaz took place, under Sultan Selim, in the sixteenth century, it had been agreed that the customs of the port of Jedda should be equally divided between the paçha of that place, and the shereef of Mecca: misunderstandings, however, on this subject, had latterly arisen between these respective personages. Shereef Ghaleb had appropriated these customs exclusively to his own use,

and the paçha had at one time politically enough promised not to interfere with his possession of them; the former misunderstandings on this subject, were now said to be adjusted, and Mahommed Ally shortly afterwards arrived at Mecca, where he distributed considerable alms to the poor, and presents to the ulemas or priests, and men of the law. The paçha's attention was principally directed to the means of providing the regular transport of supplies, military stores, and provisions, from Jedda to Mecca. The whole shipping of that port, and of Yembo, which taken together is considerable, he contracted for, and in addition had engaged, for one year, twenty vessels belonging to the Imaum of Muscat.

His anxiety on this point is said to have led Mahommed Ally to entertain several visionary schemes for the augmentation of his fleet in the Red Sea; amongst the rest, that of sending a Turkish frigate from Alexandria round the Cape of Good Hope, to enter the Arabian Gulf through the Straits of Babelmandul: and it is also said that an Englishman who had resided some time in Egypt, recollecting probably, the transport, by Mahommed II, of his vessels over land from the Bosphorus into the harbour at Constantinople, proposed to carry this frigate, or a similar vessel, at high water up to Cairo, and afterwards to pass it on rollers across the desert and launch it at Suez. Neither of these projects were adopted, nor can I bring myself to

believe, that they were ever seriously thought of. His vanity might be flattered by the reports of schemes so novel, and requiring so much power.

At first it seems strange that Mahommed Ally should find it more difficult to transport provisions by land, over the short distance between Jedda and Mecca, than to transport them from Egypt to Suez, and from thence to Jedda. Of the eight thousand camels which had accompanied the cavalry, seven thousand five hundred had died within three months after their arrival in Hedjaz. Those Bedouins, who had become allies to the Turks, were poor in camels, and the too well-known system of Turkish remuneration for services performed, made them less forward in offering such supplies, than they otherwise perhaps would have been. The number of camels therefore which the paçha was now able to collect, was scarcely equal to transport the daily consumption of provisions required at Mecca and Teyef, so that the operations of the Turks were much crippled.

This induced the paçha to be earnest in his entreaties to Shereef Ghaleb, to exert his influence with the Arabs, for the purpose of providing a supply of these useful and patient beasts; and with a view to render this influence more effective, a large sum of money was at last issued. Both Ghaleb, and the different shaiks to whom he applied, promised fairly, but no camels arrived; a second advance of money was made, and still no camels appeared.

The paçha, who had at first maintained a friendly intercourse with Ghaleb, now became cool towards him; and the shereef, on his side, complained of an infraction of their agreement, respecting the customs of Jedda, which notwithstanding the promises of Mahommed Ally, he declared were withheld from the officers whom he had appointed to receive them. It was not long before accusations were increased and aggravated on both sides, and in this state it was natural that the paçha should view with jealousy and suspicion, Ghaleb's intimacy with the chiefs of the neighbouring tribes; nor was it to be wondered at that incidents should be continually arising to render the shereef suspicious of the paçha, so that the paçha was led at last to consider Ghaleb, as rather a doubtful friend, than a useful ally. It has been said that the Grand Signior left to the discretion of the paçha the treatment which Ghaleb was to receive from the Porte; that is, either to leave him at the head of the government of Mecca, or to depose him, and make him a prisoner; but as this power was never promulgated till after the paçha had arrested the shereef, the possession of such a power from the Porte, admits of doubt.*

Be that as it may, the paçha had now formed his resolution to arrest and imprison the shereef; but the resolution to do so was much easier formed

* However, it may be said, and with truth, it would have been very unwise to have made it public.

than executed; for Ghaleb had with him at Mecca about 1500 fighting men, and the neighbouring Arabs were much better inclined toward the shereef, than towards the paçha.

The residence of Ghaleb at Mecca, was a strongly fortified house or castle, which had been originally built by Serous, his elder brother, but which had been much strengthened by Ghaleb himself, when he heard of Mahommed Ally's intention of invading Arabia. It commanded the whole town, and was certainly impregnable against any means of attack possessed by the paçha. Its garrison consisted of about 800 men, and twelve heavy guns were mounted on different parts of its walls.

Ghaleb had become aware of the designs which the paçha entertained against him; and as Mahommed Ally had then only 1200 men in Mecca, the shereef with his own troops, and with the assistance of the inhabitants, who were most of them attached to him, might easily have expelled the paçha, particularly as the Bedouins would have joined for this purpose. Ghaleb had religiously observed his oath; nor could he believe that a compact ratified within the precincts of the temple of Mecca, could be infringed by any Mahommetan; but he miscalculated the nature of Mahommed Ally's conscience, which appears to have been so little delicate, that Mr. Burckhardt says he would have arrested Ghaleb in the sacred Mosque, had he not been dissuaded by the representation

of a scrupulous cadi newly arrived from Constantinople. The Turks, on their side, assert that Ghaleb intended to arrest the paçha; but this was a story set on foot to cover their own injustice and perfidy towards that prince; and the proof of it is that Mahommed Ally had frequently visited the shereef, and returned in safety, when nothing was more easy than for Ghaleb to have detained him. It is possible that the paçha was tempted to do this in the hope that Ghaleb would return the visits so paid, which would then put him in the paçha's power. Be this as it may, it is certain that Mahommed Ally sought a proper opportunity of making the shereef a prisoner, and for this purpose he practised a stratagem which proved Ghaleb's ruin.

He directed Toussun to arrive at Mecca from Jedda at a late hour of the night. The shereef could not with propriety dispence paying the paçha a visit the next morning, which he did, attended with but few followers. This last circumstance had been hoped for, and preparations made to arrest the shereef, by concealing in different chambers several of the paçha's guards the evening before.

On the shereef's arrival at the paçha's house, he was conducted up stairs, under the pretence of Toussun Paçha being fatigued with his journey, and not able to come down, and his attendants were not allowed to follow him. After conversing with the paçha for some time, and rising to depart, he was

arrested and surrounded by the hidden soldiers; and their chief and Toussun afterwards obliged him to shew himself at the window, to order his people to return home, and to assure those assembled that no harm was intended towards him.

The shereef's two sons, on their father's arrest being known, took refuge in the castle, and made preparations for defence; but a firman from the sultan (whether true or forged was never known) being shown to Ghaleb, by which his appearance at Constantinople was required, and on being threatened with death by the paçha if resistance was made to it, he was prevailed on to write an order to his sons to deliver up the castle, which was accordingly done. An inventory of Ghaleb's property was made, and it is reported to have amounted to upwards of two hundred thousand pounds sterling. The remaining part of this person's history is told in a few words: one of his sons died at Alexandria; the Porte assigned Salonia for the residence of the shereef himself, and of another son; and there the shereef, and all his family except a younger son, who remained at Mecca, died of the plague, in 1816.

The Turks were greatly disappointed in the amount of the treasure they found belonging to Ghaleb: suspicions were entertained that he had remitted considerable sums to Bombay, with which port he had a frequent commercial intercourse. It was even insinuated that in case of need he had

intended to take refuge there. A person named Yahia, of the shereef lineage, was appointed to the government of Mecca; a weak man without reputation, and his situation was such, that he was nothing more than a stipendiary of the paçha.

The paçha's treachery to Ghaleb, neither advanced his cause nor his reputation amongst the Arabs, none of whom in the neighbourhood of Mecca, evinced more determined hostility towards the Turks, than the Begoum Arabs, who inhabited Taraba. Shereef Radjah had fixed his head-quarters there, and was joined by Ally el Medhayfe, a man of great influence in the country. Thus at that time Taraba became the point of union for the southern, as Dereyah was for the northern, Wahaubys.

The Begoum Arabs exhibited at this time rather a singular spectacle, being headed by a female of the name of Ghalye; the widow of one of the chief men of that tribe; and I well remember a similar event many years ago taking place with one of the Arab tribes which then inhabited the Dushtistan, in the neighbourhood of Bushire. I frequently saw this last person come armed to the teeth into Bushire, and heard many an amusing tale of her Amazonian exploits. One source of the widow Ghalye's influence was, that her table was open to all faithful Wahaubys, and a very natural consequence of such hospitality was, that the chiefs held frequent councils at her house; and as

the old lady was famed for good judgment, and knowledge of the interest of the surrounding tribes, as well as for good cheer, her voice was not only heard, but generally guided the decision of those councils; so that she in fact governed the Begoum Arabs, though the nominal chief of the tribe was Ibu Khorshan. To Ghalye's other accomplishments, an ignorant and superstitious soldiery added that of sorcery, and the tales they related of this were by no means proportionate in absurdity to that of her power. These tales, however, were not without their effect on the superstitious Turks: and therefore were not likely to increase their confidence in themselves, so that without offence to probability they may be considered as an assistant cause of Toussun's defeat.

Mahommed Ally was determined however on a second attack of Taraba: and in consequence Toussun was dispatched on that service from Tayef in 1813, with about 2000 troops. It was now that Mahommed Ally was destined to feel the pernicious effects of his treacherous conduct to the shereef: the country between these two places was possessed by hostile tribes; more particularly by that of Atebye, the fiercest of the sectaries. Whilst Ghaleb governed Mecca, some of these tribes were on the point of negotiating with the pạcha, and the rest not actively hostile against him; but on the seizure of that prince, they began to harass Tayef and the Turkish troops, whom

they openly upbraided with their commander's treachery.

The stock of provisions which Toussun carried with him from Tayef, amounted to thirty days' consumption for his troops, and of this time he wasted the greater part in an useless and fatiguing warfare with the Atebyes; so that when he arrived before Taraba, there were not more than three days' provisions in store. Thus situated, he ordered an immediate attack on the place: it failed: and Ghalye having made herself conspicuous in the defence, the Turkish troops openly and positively refused to make further effort for its reduction; under the idea, that they had to deal with a sorceress. The paçha had no alternative, but to retreat towards Tayef; this retreat soon became flight; and this flight produced loss of baggage, tents, guns, and the little provision which remained.

The Turks lost upwards of 700 men in this retreat, and many others perished from the mere want of water and food; whilst the remainder of the army were saved from annihilation solely by the efforts of about a hundred heavy-armed Egyptian cavalry, who accompanied Toussun; the Wahauby Bedouin infantry being unable to stand their charge. With difficulty Toussun reached Tayef, and the Wahaubys pursuing him to within a day's journey of the place, returned to Tarraba.

Notwithstanding this defeat, Mahommed Ally saw that Tayef was the point from which such

operations against the enemy, as he might hereafter resolve to undertake, could be best commenced; he therefore recommenced the system of sending caravans backward and forward between Jedda, Mecca, and Teyef. These were miserably deficient in camels, and could never effect their passage through the country, without a guard so numerous, as to consume one third of the provisions with which the caravan was charged.

In 1813, Suleiman, the paçha of Damascus, had safely conducted the caravan of the Syrian Hadj to Mecca, but as this was effected solely by the payment to Saoud of the arrears of ten years' tribute, it was rather a proof of Saoud's avidity, than of the power of the Turks. Pilgrims had also reached Mecca from Constantinople by way of Suez, Jedda, and Mecca, and the paçha by this last caravan received a most valuable supply of camels, and reinforcement of troops from Egypt. The Turks however remained inactive in the beginning of 1814.

A new plan was then adopted, and a naval expedition against the port of Gonfonde was fitted out, and sailed from Jedda, on board of which were 1500 infantry, accompanied by numerous transports laden with provisions. Gonfonde had formerly made a part of the possessions of Shereef Ghaleb, and is situated about seven days' journey to the southward of Jedda. For the last five years, it ahd been in possession of Tamy, Sheik of the Asyr

Arabs; the strongest of the mountain tribes south of Mecca, and the most devoted to Saoud's adherents.

By a reference to the map, it will be perceived, that the positions of Mecca, Tayef, and Gonfonde, present nearly a triangle, and that the latter place might easily by sea be supplied with provisions, therefore it was judiciously determined to obtain possession of it, as a *point d'appui* from whence the future conquest of Yemen might be prosecuted. Whether from not being aware of the paçha's designs, or not considering the place of much consequence, Shaik Tamy had placed a very slender garrison in Gonfonde; which, together with the inhabitants, fled from the town on the approach of the Turks, who took possession of it without bloodshed in March, 1814.

Gonfonde appears subject to the same inconvenience in respect to water that I have already related of Grain; that is, the wells from which a supply is obtained, are at three hours' distance from the town: and a prudent commander would have secured an uninterrupted communication with them by fortifying the wells themselves, and by establishing a chain of posts between them and the town. The Turks had with them artillery sufficient to have done this, but it was a precaution beyond their reach of thought, for the wells which supply Jedda are similarly situated, and they had left them unprotected. I believe that there are

many towns in Arabia and Palestine, where the supply of water for the inhabitants is from without the town, and this was probably the case at Sychar, where our Saviour found the Samaritan woman who had gone forth from the town to draw water. The convenience or safety of a port may induce the establishment of a town, and be considered in some measure counterbalancing the deficiency of a supply of fresh water within its walls; but one surely is entitled to admire for what reason an inland town was ever built on a spot where so essential an article to human existence, and human comfort, could only be obtained from wells at a distance.

The wells from which Gonfonde was supplied, were feeble in their springs, and Mahommed Ally stationed a few Arnaut soldiers at them as a sentry might be placed over a water butt on board a ship; but these soldiers were incompetent to secure them against an enemy. When I relate what Burckhardt records in respect to the attack made on these wells and their Turkish guard, by Shaik Tamy, it seem to me as if *I* had witnessed what had happened at Gonfonde, or *he* had witnessed what had happened many years before at Grain; for when the attack was made, he says, "some fought bravely, others fled towards the "town, and spread a general consternation." Without attempting resistance within the walls, the panic-struck commander and most of his troops

ran towards the ships that lay in the harbour; and this gallant commander had no sooner secured his own safety, than he hoisted sail, and left his comrades to their fate, for the Wahaubys shewed them no mercy. The plunder the Wahaubys found in Gonfonde, was the Turkish magazines, the baggage of the army, and its artillery, besides 400 horses, and many camels.

Whilst the expedition to Gonfonde was on foot, Mahommed Ally Paçha had gone to Tayef, partly to enjoy the better climate of that place, and partly that he might from thence attempt establishing an amicable intercourse with the Bedouins.

Hassan Paçha, a celebrated Arnaut chief, firmly attached to Mahommed Ally's interest, arrived from Cairo in June, 1814, with 1500 of the best infantry of Egypt. Hassan, and his brother Abed ed din Bey, had been employed in the reduction of Upper Egypt, and had distinguished themselves in the massacre at Cairo of the Mamelukes, which tragedy was performed entirely by Arnaut soldiers. In addition to these services to Mahommed Ally, he had lately performed another, that of ridding him of Catif Paçha, to whom the Porte had granted the dignity of paçha of two tails, under circumstances which awakened the jealousy and suspicion of Ally.

Very shortly after Hassan's arrival, he was despatched to establish himself at a place called Kotach, a small village to the eastward of Tayef, on

the road to Taraba, and in the plain beyond the great chain of mountains. The wells of Kotach rendered it an important position, and it was in some degree fortified. Toussun remained at Mecca and in disgrace with his father.

The following picture of the state of the Turkish army at this time was drawn by Mr. Burckhardt on the spot. "Discontent and a kind of panic were "universal amongst the soldiers. The repeated "victories gained by the enemy, and the certain "death that awaited all Turkish prisoners, ren-"dered the very name of Wahauby a terror among "the paçha's troops. The pay which in Egypt "sufficed for a soldier's comfort, scarcely enabled "him in Hedjaz to keep himself from starvation. "At Tayef and Medina the prices of all necessary "articles rose to such a height, that the soldier "could barely afford to purchase enough of bread "and onions, as his only food, and three or four "months' pay was always in arrear. Even at Jedda "and Mecca every thing was two hundred and "fifty per cent. dearer than in Egypt, so that every "one who had saved a little money before his ar-"rival in Hedjaz, was obliged to expend it in pro-"curing the necessaries of life. They were paid "besides in Egyptian piastres, bad coin, and so "much less valuable in Hedjaz than in Cairo, that "they lost by this one third of their pay. Many "sold their fire-arms and clothes, and all in general "suffered much distress; to relieve which Mahom-

" med Ally never troubled himself. Many sol-
" diers, camel drivers, servants, and artists, forfeited
" their pay, and embarked at Jedda and Yembo
" for Cairo, but the paçha soon forbade such a
" proceeding under severe penalties."

To this untoward situation of the Turkish army might be added a constant sufferance from bad water, from an unhealthy climate, and from despondency increased by no prospect of relief. It is to the apparent credit of Mahommed Ally, that under such circumstances, he should have persevered, but this credit will suffer some drawback, when we recollect that he must have known, that unless he obtained some signal advantage in Arabia, his downfall and expulsion from Egypt was certain.

By patience and the distribution of large sums of money, he had, in August, 1814, induced several Arab tribes to enter into an alliance with him; and particularly a part of that tribe the Ateybe which has been already represented as being the most attached to the doctrines of the Wahauby. Of these the number which joined the Turks were double in proportion to the Turkish troops, whilst their chiefs were presented with dresses, shawls, and clothes. Some of these proved to be spies, and very few in their hearts joined the paçha; a proof of which is that the paçha remained in utter ignorance of the interests, and private history of the surrounding tribes, as well as of any use-

ful knowledge. But the profusion with which he distributed his gifts had an effect, and the Arabs preferred to reap rather by cunning than force the rich harvest spread before them: Shereef Radjah was not backward in his claims on this occasion, and at last in September arrived at Tayef, was well received by the paçha, and placed by him at the head of such of the Bedouins as had joined the Turks.

In addition to the distribution of presents, Mahommed Ally, with a view to conciliate the inhabitants of Hadjaz, abolished many small duties formerly collected by Ghaleb; and the customs collected at Jedda, on coffee, that greatest of all luxuries to an Arab, were diminished. To these judicious measures was also joined the strictest observance of discipline amongst the troops; theft and extortion were severely punished, and the Arabs became gradually reconciled to their Turkish allies, so that Mahommed Ally obtained credit for many amiable qualities, which, in Egypt, he was never supposed to possess.

But to counterbalance, and more than counterbalance, whatever might be unpromising in the appearance of the paçha's affairs, the Wahaubys in the month of May of this year, 1814, suffered an irreparable loss in their able, active, and indefatigable Prince Saoud, who was carried off by a fever, at that time very prevalent in the Nejd. The military policy which Saoud had pursued,

and which he recommended with his latest breath to his son, was never to engage the Turks in open plains; and had this been persisted in, Abdullah might probably have foiled the Turks in every attempt at conquest, and preserved his family from the fate which befell them. Several of the Wahauby, during Saoud's lifetime, had acknowledged Abdullah, his eldest son, in case of accidents, to be his successor; notwithstanding which, as Saoud left several sons, who all claimed a part of the treasures of the deceased, hostilities between them and their elder brother broke out; but these were appeased by the influence and interference of the most powerful Ulemas at Dereyah; and Abdullah was at last acknowledged as the Wahauby chief. The example set in the family of Saoud was followed by some of the great Shaiks, who began to assume airs of independence; and to perceive that the government had passed into feebler hands than had hitherto wielded it; for though Abdullah's courage and skill in war were superior to his father's, still it was evident that he was very inferior to Saoud in the ability to manage the political interests of the different tribes under his command. Thus the Southern Wahaubys, who were most exposed to the attacks of the Turks, often received no assistance from the Northern Tribes, and Abdullah either wanted the power or the policy to adjust the differences which were taking place between the Southern Shaiks.

But perhaps nothing was so fatal to Abdullah, as the contempt in which he held the Turks.

In September, 1814, the position of Mahommed Ally's forces, was,

With the Paçha's Mohurder at Mecca about 200 Turks, and with Shereef Yahia in the same place 150 Arabian soldiers	350
With the Divan Effendi at Medinah	400
Garrison at Yembo	100
Stationed at Jedda	200
With Tousun Paçha between Yembo and Medina	350
With Mahommed Ally himself, 200 infantry and 100 cavalry	300
With Hassan Paçha at Kolach, Arnauts	1000
With Abedin Bey 1200 Arnauts and 400 cavalry	1600
Total	4300

Hassan Paçha, and his brother Abedin Bey, held the advanced posts of the Turkish army, and these had been pushed in advance of Tayef, and to the southward, into the territory of the tribe of Beni Nazzera, and towards the district of Zohran, the Shaik whereof was the principal opponent of the Turks in that quarter; these posts had the advantage, from the fertility of the country in which they were stationed, to find themselves independent of the magazines at Tayef; but though there was corn, there was no other means of reducing it to flour, except that of pounding it between stones.

The force above enumerated might be equal to the defence of Mecca and Medina, but was certainly inadequate to the conquest of the Wahaubys: and, notwithstanding all the Paçha's efforts, he had failed to procure a competent supply of camels. From the beginning of the war to this period, it is imagined thirty thousand camels had perished, and the animal had become so scarce in Egypt, that it became necessary to seek supplies as far as Sennar, and the paçha had even sent an officer to Damascus to procure a supply from thence. I have always thought that the effluvia produced by the corruption of a dead camel, was more powerful and more offensive than that proceeding from the decomposition of any other animal substance; and in Moabedi, the quarter of Mecca appropriated to the standing of the camels, the stench became so bad and pestilential, that the Turks even at last thought of consuming the carcasses with fire, by means of dry grass, brought from the mountains, and laid upon them.

Various skirmishes took place between the Turks and Wahaubys, in which the advantage was sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other, but the most serious affair took place at Bahra, a small town, at a watering place between Mecca and Jedda, which the Wahaubys took possession of, and massacred all the inhabitants that they could find. This caused great consternation at Mecca, and the intercourse between

Jedda and Mecca was for some time interrupted.

That part of the Beni Harb tribe which had been induced to give assistance to the Turks, were now become hostile to them, in consequence of a disagreement between their shaik and the Divan Effendi, which ended in the effendi's causing the shaik to be seized, and soon after put to death. In the hope of bringing back these Beni Harbs to the cause of the Turks, Toussun Paçha was ordered to advance towards Medina, which he did in August. He reached Bedr in September, and found that these Arabs had fortified the pass of Tededah, and were resolved to oppose his passage. They demanded the life of the Divan Effendi, who very opportunely for the adjustment of the dispute, died, but not without a suspicion of his having been poisoned. This timely death, and valuable presents made to the young shaik, who was a minor, were at length considered as the atonement and price of the shaik's blood; and a reconciliation taking place, Toussun passed the defile of Tededah, and arrived at Medina in October. Shortly afterwards, the cavalry took up their position three days' journey in advance of Medina, and made several excursions towards the territories of the northern Wahauby tribes.

It has been stated that Medin Bey, with the Arnauts under his command, occupied a position in Zohran, where, with a view to prevent an attack from the enemy, he destroyed, for forty

miles around him, whatever might be serviceable to the passage of troops. To this species of defence he so confidently trusted, that all precautions against surprise were neglected; when, one morning, Bokroudj, joined by Tamy and other tribes, surprised the Arnauts, who scarcely fired one shot ere they abandoned their camp and all it contained. Here again the Turks lost all their tents, artillery, baggage and provisions, and it was not until those who escaped, arrived within four hours of Tayef, that they ventured to rest, leaving behind them 800 Turkish infantry and 80 horsemen, killed.

The place where Abedin took position was called Lye, and here he received reinforcements from Tayef and Kolach, and orders, when it was known that the Wahaubys had returned to the northward, to retreat to Zohran. But the Turks had received too severe a lesson to render the execution of these orders either palatable or practicable, and all that Abedin Bey could do was to fix his head-quarters a little in advance of Lye. Notwithstanding all this, the Turks represented the affairs of Zohran as ending greatly in their favor; they exposed some sixty heads, which they stated to be those of Wahaubys slain in action; they fired a salute at Jedda; they illuminated Cairo; and they trembled in their camp.

A seasonable reinforcement of cavalry now arrived from Cairo, and of such cavalry as might well be considered the most useful and effective

in the warfare in which the Turks were engaged. They had been drawn from the Lybian tribes of Bedouins, who in summer encamp in the neighbourhood of the valley of the Nile. Eight hundred of these, well accustomed to the Wahauby species of warfare, the horse and man equally inured to fatigue, and each cavalier having with him a camel carrying provisions for distant expeditions, were an invaluable acquisition to the Turkish army. Half of this force joined Toussun at Medina, and the other advanced to Tayef, where, they had no sooner arrived, than they distinguished themselves by distant expeditions against the Wahauby. They were well armed; and in one of their excursions they brought off a plunder, that must have been particularly valuable to the Turks,—eight thousand sheep.

By purchase in Syria, and by pressing into his service from the pilgrim caravans, which arrived in November, Mahommed Ally Paçha, was enabled to collect together from seven to eight thousand camels, besides which the Egyptian caravan had also brought him a reinforcement of 1000 Turkish cavalry. That the whole of these camels might be employed on military service, the Hadj was detained at Mecca, and the Mahmil or sacred camel which had conveyed the new covering of the Caaba, was sent by sea to Suez after the pilgrimage was over.

It was at this pilgrimage, that the favorite wife

of Mahommed Ally, and who was the mother of Toussun, appeared in such splendour; having four hundred camels to transport from Jedda to Mecca her baggage and tents, which she pitched at the foot of mount Arafat. But the most splendid as well as the most useful pilgrimage ever performed by a lady, was that of Zobeideh, who makes such a figure in the Arabian Nights as the wife of the Caliph Haroun al Rashid; for she not only caused wells, at an immense expense, to be opened at every stage between Bagdad and Mecca, but also built near them towers of defence, in which afterwards garrisons were placed, and maintained at her expense. The pilgrims were this year supposed, altogether, to amount to upwards of 80,000 persons.

Mahommed Ally Paçha now announced his intention of putting himself at the head of his troops; and being confident in the sufficiency of the preparations he had made, proposed another attack on Taraba. The paçha had with him twelve pieces of well-appointed artillery, against the fire of which it was not thought possible that the walls of Taraba could stand: he had prepared five hundred axes, to be employed in felling the date tree groves by which the town was surrounded: he had a number of masons and carpenters, who were to mine in such manner that the place should be blown into the air. He ostentatiously paraded through the town of Mecca a load of water melon

seeds, which, after the fort had been blown into the air, it was proclaimed were to be sown on the place where the works had stood. These vauntings, however, did not tranquillize the fears of the troops, nor render the memories of such as had fought already with the Wahaubys less alive to the disasters they had undergone.

The campaign began in the true Turkish style; thirteen Bedouins, of the tribe of Ateybe, who were proceeding to Jedda for the purpose of purchasing provisions, were seized, and by way of inspiring the troops with a consciousness of their own valour, were executed on the plain near Mecca, in presence of an immense multitude of spectators. The execution, indeed, whatever encouragement it might give the Ottomans, drew from the Meccan spectators curses and hisses on the perpetrators.

Ahmed Aga, who has been before noticed, left Mecca on the 15th of December, with the major part of the infantry, and proceeded at once to Kolach, whilst the paçha intended to follow him on the 24th. But news arrived that a strong Wahauby force had been seen in the neighbourhood of Gonfonde, apparently advancing towards Jedda. This at first created considerable alarm, which however subsided when it was known to be only Shaik Tamy's men, who had their tents near Gonfonde.

Various and varying were the reports which

reached the paçha, between the 24th of December and the 7th of January, 1815, on which day the paçha actually marched from Mecca with all the troops that he could muster, proceeding towards Kolach, where the different chiefs of the army were already assembled, and where provisions calculated to be sufficient for fifty or sixty days were collected. When the paçha reached his second station at Zeyme, messengers, sent in haste from Kolach, brought him intelligence that a large body of Wahaubys had seized on the town of Byssel, which lies between Kolach and Tayef, and thus had interrupted the communication between those places: and that another body was making an incursion on the Arabs friendly to the Turks to the eastward of Kolach. Notwithstanding this, the paçha hastened his march to Kolach; aud on the next day proceeded towards Byssel with the whole of his cavalry. He found the Wahaubys encamped on the side of the mountains, which open towards the plains of Kolach, in a force computed at about 25,000, but with very little cavalry, and no artillery of any kind. But most of the potent Wahauby chiefs were to be found in this encampment; and it now evidently appeared that the attack on Gonfonde had been made with an intention of drawing off the paçha's attention from the main object of attack, which was Byssel, where they now occupied a strong position, in the very centre of the Turkish lines. As the Turkish

cavalry approached, the Wahaubys kept their position on the mountains; but repulsed an attempt made by the pacha, to plant one of his field-pieces in a situation to annoy them. The day was passed in skirmishes, in which the Turks lost about twenty of their cavalry, slain by the spears of the Wahauby horsemen.

The effect of these transactions was, that several of the Bedouins in the pacha's service, and cowardly Turkish soldiers, deserted, and fled back to Mecca, where, by the reports they spread, they created intense alarm.

Mahommed Ally soon perceived that as long as the Wahaubys maintained their position on the mountains, he had no chance of success against them, and he also knew that situated as he was, delay would be as dangerous in its effects to him, as it would be advantageous to his enemies. In the night he sent for a reinforcement from Kolach, and posted 2000 infantry with artillery on the flank of the Wahauby. When the morning broke he renewed the attack with his cavalry, and was again repulsed. He then had recourse to a stratagem which succeeded to the utmost of his wishes: he directed the column in flank to move nearer to the Wahauby camp, to fire off the artillery, and then retreat in seeming confusion. The Wahaubys pursued what they imagined to be fugitives; thought the hour was now come which was to bestow victory on their arms; and fatally forgot the

last words of their great prince Saoud when dying. The Wahaubys had now reached the plain, and were sufficiently distant from the mountains to encourage the paçha's meditated attack. He rallied his cavalry, faced his pursuers: the battle was soon decided in his favor, and the slaughter of the Wahaubys commenced: and as six dollars was the price proclaimed for each Wahauby head, we may easily imagine that the Turks carried on such traffic with vigor and spirit. It is said that in a few hours 5000 heads, at this price, were laid at the paçha's feet, and the hostile camp, baggage, and camels, became the prey of the Turks; whilst many of their principal chiefs escaped from the field of battle with difficulty; and it is considered extraordinary, that near three hundred Wahaubys were reported to have accepted the quarter which was offered them at the express command of the paçha.

Something in this action was due to the personal courage of the paçha, but more to the firmness of mind which enabled him to stem the torrent of alarm which was spreading amongst his troops, and still more, for the military tact which produced the fortunate stratagem, and soldier-like manner in which it was conducted.

There can be no doubt that the misfortunes of the Wahaubys on this day, proceeded solely from suffering themselves to be drawn into the plain; and if one could for a moment imagine that a

Turkish paçha could condescend to acquaint himself with the language or history of the Giaours, he might gratify his pride by comparing the victory at Byssel, with Cromwell's famous battle of Dunbar; where, as Hume says, when Cromwell saw the Covenanters' camp in motion to descend to the plain, he "foretold without the help of revelations that the Lord had delivered them into his hands." The Wahaubys had flattered themselves on seeing the retreat of the artillery, and the apparent confusion of the Turkish army, that they should finish the war at one decisive blow by the capture of the paçha. Hope, often to nations as well as to individuals proves a deceiver, and is never more likely to do so, than when the prospects she holds out are apparently the fairest and most alluring.

Before the account of this battle is closed, I would willingly mention the extraordinary circumstance of several bodies of the Asyr Arabs, who previously to their setting out on the expedition, had sworn by the divorce not to turn their backs on the Turks; they were found on the mountains by the victors tied together by the legs, with the intent of preventing each other from running away; and these fanatics fought as long as their ammunition lasted, and when that failed were all cut to pieces.

It is certain that the event of this battle did not diminish the pride and vaunting insolence of the Turks, though their former series of disgrace and

defeats had for some time past prevented the usual glaring exhibition of their failings: and though the inhabitants of the province of Hedjaz were not sorry to be relieved from the dominion of the Sectaries, yet their love of their country was still powerful enough to make them view the defeat of Arabs by Turks as a national misfortune; and this feeling was by no means soothed by the paçha's conduct towards the three hundred Wahaubys to whom quarter had been offered by "his express command." Will any being endowed with the form, faculty, and feelings of a man, read the fate of these wretches, thus deluded, without pouring curses on the head of him that directed it? Fifty of these miserable men were impaled alive before the gates of Mecca; twelve suffered a like horrible death at every one of the coffee houses or halting places between Mecca and Jedda; and the rest finished their lives under torture before the Meccan gate at Jedda!!

The action at Byssel led to the fall of Taraba, from which Faysal, Abdullah's brother, fled on the approach of the paçha; the inhabitants thus abandoned by their allies, capitulated; and here the paçha fixed his head-quarters for some time.

Amidst the numerous instances of treachery, cruelty, and baseness, which have been exhibited of Mahommed Ally, justice demands that one trait of his generosity and good feeling should be recorded. At Taraba, the Turks had entered some

of the houses of the inhabitants, and had carried off some very handsome Arab women; these were by Ally's order and care restored to their families.

After the capture of Taraba, the Turkish army employed itself in the reduction of various small castles in different parts of the country. In one of these, Sablaun, a chief of the Beni Salem Arabs, defended himself for four days against the Turkish infantry, commanded by Hassan Paçha. The paçha of Egypt, with the cavalry, was near at hand, and unfortunately for him Sahbaun was prevailed on to listen to terms of capitulation and safe conduct. Under these he marched out; but, thinking it proper to pay his respects to Hassan Paçha, he proceeded to his tent. In this interview the Turk accused the Arab of heresy; the Arab defended his opinions; and on quitting the tent, the Turk ordered his soldiers to fall on the Arab, and they cut him in pieces.

The paçha's quarters were now at Beishe, where he was joined by many Bedouins; for such as were discontented with the Wahaubys now came to seek redress from the paçha; and in consequence of this, Mahommed Ally Paçha had an opportunity of creating a considerable influence, by displacing the heads of many tribes, and supplying their places by persons favorable to his interests. In this state of things intelligence was brought to the paçha that Shaik Tamy had assembled a considerable force in the mountains, resolved to try

the issue of a second battle: it was therefore towards the territory of Tamy that the paçha now directed his course.

In this march, the Turks suffered the extremes of hunger and fatigue, for the last biscuits were distributed before they left Beishe; and when that supply was consumed, every man was left to furnish himself as well as he could: and though the paçha increased the pay of the troops, it was of little advantage to them in the purchase of such provisions as were offered for sale; because the price of those provisions had from their scarcity increased in a proportion tenfold to the increase of pay.

In two days' march from Beishe, the Turkish troops entered the mountains, and here they enjoyed some days' repose, having been fortunate to fall in with the Shomran Arabs, who were friendly to them. Notwithstanding this, the paçha in one day lost an hundred horses by death, and the troops became so much discontented, that orders were given to every commander to dismount and march at the head of their respective forces. At every halt a sort of market was established before the paçha's tent, over which he himself presided.

As the troops approached the territory of Asyr, the rugged roads of the mountains rendered the transport of artillery difficult. The march and halts from Beishe had now consumed a space of fourteen days, when they reached the castle called

Tor, situated on an elevated spot, and surrounded by mountains. Here Tamy had collected near 10,000 men; and, on the first attack, the Turks were repulsed with the loss of 300; on the second day, however, the Turks bringing their field-pieces to bear, the Wahaubys gave way and fled, Tamy himself being the last to quit the field; and not before himself and a select troop had gallantly disputed it. In the fort was found a considerable store of provision, of ammunition, and the guns formerly taken at Gonfonde.

Mahommed Ally now formally deposed Tamy as shaik of the Asyr Arabs, and sent Radjah in pursuit of him: the paçha himself gaining the sea-shore through passes of considerable difficulty. The prince of Yemen, Shereef Hamoud, had formerly made submission to the Wahauby; but, since the Turks entered Hedjaz, his conduct had been regulated as the success or defeat of each party took place; and, there was little doubt if the paçha's expedition failed, but that he would have joined the former. As Yemen is generally considered as the most wealthy province of that part of Arabia, the paçha entertained a wish to compensate himself for the great expense he had hitherto incurred, by the plunder of it; which in the moments of their discontent he had frequently held out to his troops, with a view of appeasing them. But this discontent now broke out so violently, that Mahommed Ally thought it more pru-

dent to direct his march to Gonfonde, than to pursue it to the southward.

Tamy, who, after the battle of Tor, had taken refuge at Arysh, in the house of a relation of Shereef Hamoud; was basely delivered up to that prince; who thinking by that means to ward off the invasion which seemed to be threatening him, sent to the paçha to know how he would wish him to dispose of his noble prisoner: Hamoud was directed to deliver Tamy to Shereef Radjah, who took him to Gonfonde.

A successful attack was then made on the tribe Bahroudj, in which the shaik of it was also made captive. Bahroudj made an attempt to escape; was retaken and put to death in a very cruel manner. Tamy was beheaded at Cairo, and his head together with that of Bahroudj were sent to Constantinople.

Of the ten thousand camels the paçha marched with, half were lost at Byssel; and about three hundred only returned to Mecca; quantities of baggage and ammunition were obliged to be destroyed, there being no means of carrying them away. Of the horses only three hundred returned; and of the 4,000 troops only 1,500, and these from the highest to the lowest in a most miserable condition.

It will have been seen that a serious impression had now been made on the territories, strength, and resources of the Wahaubys: when the battle of Byssel took place, Abdullah headed a body of

troops in the province of Kaysm, held in readiness to oppose Toussun Paçha, should he advance from the side of Medina; but, on hearing the disastrous result of that action, he returned to Dereyah, under an apprehension that Mahommed Ally Paçha would direct his march towards Nejd, which he might easily have done from Taraba.

After a short stay at Mecca, Mahommed Ally hastened to Medina, leaving Hassan Paçha governor of the town; and a garrison at Taraba under the command of Hossein Bey and Shereef Radjah.

Many of the chiefs of the northern tribes now made offers to join Toussun Paçha; and he was joined, in his march, by the greater part of the Kaysm shaiks; which induced the paçha to project the conquest of Nejd. But as his father, however, never trusted him with much money, the means he possessed were very inadequate to the object he had in view, but being a man of first-rate personal courage and bravery, he was not discouraged by the smallness of his resources; accordingly, in the end of March he left Medina with only three hundred cavalry, four hundred infantry, and about four hundred camels carrying provisions, and a small quantity of baggage.

His first station was at the village of Hanakye, which, though ruined and deserted, the walls of it were still standing; and he remained there till his father arrived at Medina, from whence Mahommed Ally sent a message to his son desiring him to

return to Medina, in order that he might concert with him a plan of future operations. Toussun, however, did not comply with this invitation; but, on the contrary, proceeded on his march towards Kaysm. The rank Toussun held in the Ottoman empire was equal to that of his father, both being paçhas of three tails; but notwithstanding this, the father kept the son in very strict dependance on him: so much so, that when he placed the north of Hedjaz under his command, he associated with him Kadery Effendi, through whom all business was to be transacted, and with whom Toussun was directed to advise. Toussun considered this not only as irksome, but even disgraceful to him, and the connection ended as is not unusual amongst the Turks. Toussun beheaded his tutor. Thus things were thrown into confusion, the political interests of the Turks with the neighbouring Arabs were not managed well, and Mahommed Ally had enough to do to correct the errors which his son committed. After Toussun had disobeyed his father's wishes in respect to returning to Medina, he received from him a reinforcement of 250 cavalry, and a detachment of infantry, and with these, and his former forces, early in May, Toussun reached the province of Kaysm. He was fortunate enough to capture 500 camels from the Heylem Arabs, and by means of these, he procured a supply of provisions from Yembo. At Rass, the principal town of Kaysm, several of the petty shaiks came

in to him; but Hedgelan, the great shaik of the Kaysm Arabs, still supported the cause and interest of Abdullah, who, in the mean time, had collected an army of Nejd Bedouins and settlers, and had fixed his head-quarters at Shenana, five hours distant from Khabara, where Toussun Paçha had arrived, and was encamped. Toussun's situation now became perilous. Ibrahim Aga, a Scotch renegade, who commanded a body of cavalry, after a gallant resistance, had been cut to pieces, as well as his whole detachment. The enemy had intercepted the communication between Khabara and Medina, and although the province in itself was fertile enough to have furnished abundant supplies of provisions, still, as the cavalry of the Wahaubys was constantly hovering round the camp, the Turks depended solely on two or three villages for their daily supply; and in these every thing began already to become very scarce. Besides which, Toussun knew enough of his Arab allies, to be certain that on the first untoward circumstance that might take place, they would join the Wahaubys. The impetuosity of Toussun, led him to the wish of extricating himself by a battle, but his officers and men refused to second him in this attempt, they were alarmed by the superior numbers of the enemy, and they were well aware, that in case of a defeat, not a man of them would be spared.

The consequence of all this was, that some

Bedouins were employed to sound Abdullah, who sent an Arab named Habaub to discover what might be the real designs of Toussun, and what was the exact nature of his situation. The report made was favourable enough to Abdullah's cause; but he foresaw, or thought that he foresaw, that the entire destruction of Toussun's forces would not be a solid advantage to him, as it would probably cause Mahommed Ally to direct his whole strength against the Nejd; which he thought might prove more detrimental to his affairs, than a partial victory could be advantageous.

Habaub was well received by Toussun, who in return sent Yahya Effendi, a Syrian by birth, well acquainted with the Arabic language, and who was the paçha's physician. Where both parties sincerely desire peace, negociation is seldom protracted, and this was the case in the present instance; for one of Abdullah's confidential servants was speedily dispatched with a treaty for the paçha's ratification.

The terms of it were, renunciation by Abdullah of all claim to the possession of the Holy Cities; submission to the Sultan;* and free passage for himself and followers through the Turkish dominions. Toussun Paçha abandoned to Abdullah Ibn Saoud those towns of Kaysm of which he had possession, and dismissed from his service the prisoners who had joined him. He likewise dis-

* This could only be as a temporal prince.

claimed the protection of those tribes whose pasture grounds lay beyond Hamakye, and only claimed as his tributaries and allies, those between Hamakye and Medina, and in the territories of the Holy Cities. No care however was taken in this treaty of the interests of the southern Wahaubys; *in consequence of which, such of those tribes who had joined the paçha, were subsequently severely punished by that officer.*

Now, though both sides were desirous of peace, they were both alike distrustful of each other's good faith in keeping it when concluded. Fear on the side of the paçha produced this suspicion, and experience of Turkish treachery might well generate it on the other; and the reader, perhaps, from the result, which, in this memoir, has been uniformly represented to accompany every compact on the part of the Turks, will wonder how Abdullah could be induced again to put faith in such documents. These suspicions produced a difficulty which of the parties should first break ground. Several letters passed on this subject between the two chiefs, but the matter was at length settled to the satisfaction of Abdullah.

Toussun Paçha arrived at Medina about the end of June, accompanied by two of the Wahauby officers, envoys to Mahommed Ally, with the articles of the peace, and bearing letters from their chief, one to the paçha, and another to his master, the sultan.

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Notwithstanding the services Mahommed Ally had already rendered to the Porte, in his persevering warfare against the Wahaubys, the advices which he received from his Kiah at Cairo, of a strong fleet from Constantinople, cruising in the Archipelago, gave him considerable uneasiness; as an idea was entertained that it might be destined against Alexandria, into which the Kiah had thrown strong reinforcements.

In consequence of these apprehensions, Selim Aga, the governor of Yembo, received orders on the 19th May, on pain of death, to have a ship ready to sail on that very evening; and on the next morning Mahommed Ally arrived, and without waiting to refresh himself, embarked immediately, and the vessel sailed direct for Corseir. On his landing, such was the paçha's anxiety to proceed, that he mounted an ass, as no horse nor camel could be procured. So mounted, he proceeded to Genne, where he heard that the alarm which had gone abroad in respect to an attack on Alexandria, had subsided at Cairo. At this place he arrived on the 25th June, after an absence of two years.

In the month of August following, the envoys sent by Abdullah to Toussun Paçha, arrived at Cairo; one of these was a relation of that prince, and a very learned man. They presented to the paçha the treaty concluded between their master and Toussun, and the letters for the sultan and the

paçha with which they were charged. The paçha refused to ratify the treaty, unless it contained also the cession to the Turks of the province of Hassa, one of the richest and most fertile provinces possessed by Abdullah; and this the envoys refusing to undertake, they were dismissed with presents.

The Wahauby had no leisure to reflect on the imprudence which he had committed in listening to terms from Toussun Paçha, and the political rectitude or infamy of the Turks on this occasion, turns on the point whether the treaty was concluded subject to Mahommed Ally's ratification, or whether Toussun, as equal in rank with his father, concluded it, with a condition that it should only be communicated to the latter as a thing done, and the which, he had not the power to alter. Whichsoever of these positions was the correct one, the effect to Abdullah was the same: he had permitted, to his cost, Toussun and his force to escape from certain destruction; and Mahommed Ally refused to abide by that treaty by which that escape was purchased. Indeed, Mahommed Ally went so far as to represent this treaty at Constantinople as no more than a temporary armistice.

Toussun Paçha arrived at Cairo on the 7th November, 1815, and was very coldly received by his father, in consequence, perhaps, of his too warm reception by the inhabitants of that city; and in the September following, being at Rosetta, and the plague prevailing there, he was carried off by it.

The reader will recollect, that Mahommed Ally, appointed Ibn Medry, of the Asyr Arabs, in the place of Tamy; and no sooner had the paçha returned to Cairo, than Tamy's party, as Hassan Paçha and his Arnauts were unable to support him, obliged the new shaik to fly; on which several shaiks, relations of Ibn Medry, were despatched to Mahommed Ally with complaints and reclamations for assistance. These were received civilly, but nothing more was undertaken; until intelligence arrived in March 1816, that serious disturbances had broken out in Hedjaz. The Turkish cavalry, which had been stationed at Beishe, Rannye, and Taraba, had been imprudently withdrawn; and the latter place was entrusted solely to a small garrison of friendly Bedouins.

Such being the case, and the southern Wahaubys having never been included in the treaty, the general position of these sectaries appeared to be gaining strength.

In August 1816, an expedition, designed to march direct to Dereyah, by the way of Medina and Kaysm, was entrusted to the command of Ibraham Paçha, another son of Mahommed Ally's. This force consisted of about 2,000 infantry, and about 1500 Libyan Bedouin cavalry, all choice men.

For Ibrahim Paçha was reserved the complete overthrow, conquest, and dispersion, of the Wahaubys: to recount the different marches and skirmishes of the two parties until the year 1818, would be only to repeat pretty much the same

story that has already been laid before the reader; and therefore, I shall confine myself to saying, that after the fall of his capital, and a subsequently desperate battle, Ibrahim succeeded in getting possession of the person of Abdullah Ibu Saoud, his women and treasures, which all arrived at Cairo in the latter end of that year; and on the 16th December, 1818, these noble captives were paraded through the streets of Constantinople in heavy chains; and subsequently tortured: they were, on the next morning, brought in that miserable condition before the sultan: were then beheaded; and their bodies, after three days exposure, were delivered to further indignities, at the pleasure of a fanatic and enraged populace.

Thus ended, for the present, the power and government of this singular people, who, from very slight and feeble origin, had at one time, arrived at such a degree of power, as to cause the most serious alarm both to the Turkish paçhas throughout all Asia, as well as to their master the sultan at Constantinople, and to the orthodox followers of Mahomet in general; and who had actually suffered themselves to be so far deluded as to their real strength, as to imagine that they might brave with impetuosity the British government in India.

The succession of their rulers or princes were, 1st. Mahommed Ibn Saoud. 2d. Abdul Azeez Ibn Saoud. 3d. Saoud Ibn Abdul Azeez. 4th. Abdullah Ibn Saoud.

Before I close this imperfect memoir of this

once powerful and extraordinary sect, I beg to offer the reader some account of

Their spiritual and political government, and religious opinions:

Their administration of justice:

Their revenues, and the sources from whence those revenues are drawn:

And, their military system and mode of warfare.

A long residence at Bagdad, a longer one at Bassora, afforded me not only an opportunity of much enquiry on these points, and of learning something, but also of often lamenting the deficiency and inconsistency of the information I received. I have read over very carefully the intelligent Mr. Burckhardt's very valuable Materials for a History of the Wahaubys, edited by Sir William Ouseley, and when the information which that contains agrees with that of which I am in possession, or with what I have credibly heard stated as fact, I will either use it in my own words, or repeat it in his, and I will at once say, when I am deficient in information, or ignorant of a fact stated by Mr. Burckhardt, I can safely leave his book in the hands of my readers with an unqualified assurance, that my ignorance is not the slightest proof that the matter was not as it is represented by that lamented gentleman.

Before I proceed further, I must remark, however, that either Mr. Burckhardt or his editor appear to me to have fallen *in limine* into a gric-

vous and gross mistake, at least if I can believe all those with whom I ever conversed on the subject. The mistake is this: if I read the text right, it states that Mahommed Ibn Saoud married the daughter of Abdulwahaub,* whereas I believe the fact to be as I have stated it in the second paragraph of the *mémoire*, that Abdulwahaub, on his retreat to Dereyah, married Mahommed Ibn Saoud's daughter; and that in consequence of this connexion, though Abdulwahaub remained the *book*, Mahommed Ibn Saoud become the *sword* of the sect.

I shall now proceed to trouble the reader with my observations on the points alluded to above, in the same order as I have placed them.

There can be no doubt but Mr. Burckhardt is perfectly correct when he states, that the religion and government attempted to be established by the Wahaubys, was nothing more than a *puritanism* of the religious and civil code of *Islam*; and the efforts of Abdulwahaub and of Mahommed Ibn Saoud, were solely pointed to reform the abuses tolerated and practised amongst the other professors of that code; and in the place of them, to establish an adherence to the true faith. It is seldom that the doctrines of a reformer are clearly

* Abdulazeen, the son of Mahommed Ibn Saoud, married Abdulwahaub's daughter, and had by her, Saoud Ibn Adulazeen, the third prince of the Wahaubys, and two other sons, one named Abderrahman, and the other Abdullah.

and completely understood, even by his friends,* and they are almost always misunderstood, and consequently misrepresented, by his enemies. The Turks, without much examination of those promulgated by Abdulwahaub, pronounced them *heretical;* nor did they stop here, for finding these doctrines to speak less respectfully of, and express less veneration for, the Prophet, than they had been accustomed to entertain, they boldly pronounced the followers of them to be *Kafirs*, or infidels. In these prejudices and false opinions they were much strengthened by the representations made by the shereefs of Mecca; and as the Wahaubys gained strength and proselytes, the Turkish paçhas, whose governments lay nearest to the Bedouins, became alarmed, and joined in the cry; and when the Wahaubys began to interfere with and vex the Hajge pilgrims, those individuals, on their return to their homes, gave pretty much the same account of the new sectaries, as the Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem before the Crusades, gave, on their return to Europe, of the Saracens.† The testimony which well informed

* As the fanatic mob of a new sect can seldom be impressed with the true spirit of its founder, it happened that the greater part of the followers of Abdulwahaub considered as chief points of doctrine such as were rather accessories, and thus caused their enemies to form very erroneous notions of the supposed new religion.—*Burckhardt, Mat.* p. 114.

† "Every pilgrim who returned from Palestine related the dangers he had encountered in visiting the Holy City, and described

persons, and those who had taken pains to examine the doctrines of Abdulwahaub, could have given to the contrary, was shyly published, and when published, weak in its effect against popular clamour. But one cannot help smiling at the absurdity and ignorance of a Frenchman taking on himself in 1808 to state to the world that the Wahaubys *preach a new religion, and that although they acknowledge the Koran, yet they have entirely abolished the pilgrimage to Mecca:* but the smile is converted into contempt, when by way of imposing on the public, he goes on to say he derived his information from a "chapelain de Saoud;" implying, as Mr. Burckhardt very properly says, an office in Saoud's establishment, of which he cannot form any exact notion, and an office of which, I will answer for it, Saoud himself never heard, nor ever dreamt.

Perhaps the fairest and best means of judging how far the creed of the Wahaubys differs from, or accords with, the Koran, and consequently to what degree it is orthodox or heterodox, would be to compare the contents of that volume with the catechism published by Saoud after the capture of

with exaggeration the cruelty and vexations of the Turks, who, to use the language of those zealots, not only profaned the sepulchre of the Lord by their presence, but derided the sacred mysteries in the very place of their completion, and where the Son of God was speedily expected to hold his great tribunal."—RUSSELL'S *History of Modern Europe, p.* 264.

Mecca, which I believe is now admitted to contain nothing but what the soundest expositors of the Koran and the most learned Mahommedan theologians admit. The Wahaubys even acknowledge the traditions of Mahommed (the Sunnet) as *fundamental;* and Mr. Burckhardt very justly observes:—"In the attempt however to exhibit the "primitive practices and pure dogmas of the ori- "ginal founder of Islàm, and of his first followers, "as established upon these laws, they were very "naturally led to condemn a number of false opi- "nions and corruptions which had crept into Islàm "as at this day taught;" and amongst these, one of the most striking, was the manner in which the Sunnees and other Mahommedans honour their Prophet, which almost approaches to adoration, and this, though in somewhat an inferior degree, is extended to others considered by them as Mahommedan saints. Nothing can be more certain than that there are very numerous passages contained in the Koran, expressly declaring that the *Prophet is mortal*; whilst early and learned commentators, carried away by their veneration for the founder of their religion, attempted sophistically to prove, that though dead and buried, he had not shared the common lot of mortals,* but was still alive; and "that his access to the Al- "mighty, and his being dearly beloved by him,

* Is it not possible they may have borrowed this *after thought* from Christianity?

" rendered it easy for him to protect and recom-
" mend any of his faithful adherents to God's fa-
" vour." This opinion was held in the utmost abomination by the Wahaubys, so that when the Turks and other Mahommedans stood before the tomb of Mahommed at Medinah, making prayer to the Prophet, the Wahaubys considered these prayers as impious invocations, and applied to those who made them an appellation which Mahommedans frequently bestow on Christians, *i. e.* "*Associators*," *i. e.* persons who associate *other beings with God.* The common sepulchral honour bestowed on Mahommedan saints, is that of erecting a *kumbeh* or dome over the spot where they lie buried; these, wherever the Wahaubys came, they invariably destroyed, to prevent (as they said) idolatry.

There were no points of the Koranic law on which the Wahaubys laid greater stress or more rigidly observed, than alms-giving, obedience to the sumptuary regulations of Mahommed, severe and impartial justice, war against the infidels, abstinence from all liquors and everything else which might inebriate, adultery, and practices contrary to nature. I believe I may assert without fear of well founded contradiction, that *not a single new precept* was to be found in the Wahauby code; and when the Treatises on Religion written by Abdulwahaub himself were exposed and examined at Cairo, before and by the most learned *oulemas*

of that city, they declared unanimously " that if " such were the opinions of the Wahauby, they " themselves belonged altogether to that creed."

The Wahaubys considered the smoking tobacco to be unlawful (thinking I suppose that it slightly tends to disturb the brain); but it is well known that many Sunnee oulemas, in their writings, have declared it to be a forbidden practice; and indeed one of the four orthodox sects of the Musselmans (the followers of Imam Malek) pronounces it to be *hateful.* The Wahaubys also forbade praying over the rosary or string of beads, a practice, indeed, neither against nor in conformity with any positive law; but the report that they prohibited the use of coffee was propagated by the Turks for a particular purpose. The fact is, they make use of this most agreeable, wholesome, and refreshing beverage, as all their countrymen do, which is in frequent small potations, but amounting in the day to a great quantity.

And now before I close this hasty and imperfect sketch of " the spiritual government and opinions " of the Wahaubys, let me turn to my friend the bold Frenchman (for bold indeed he may well be called who talks of a " chapelain de Saoud ") and tell him that Abdulwahaub, and Mahommed Ibn Saoud, the founders of the sect, *positively commanded the pilgrimage to Mecca;* but they commanded it to be performed according to the ritual of the Koran; and that all that they omitted or for-

bade about it, was the use of such rites and ceremonies, in the performance of the pilgrimage, as were connected with invocations or honors to saints. The first thing Saoud did after he got possession of Mecca, was to make a pilgrimage to Beit-allah, or house of God, to swallow copious draughts drawn from the well Zem-zem, and to bathe and purify himself with its reputed holy water.

The political government of the Wahaubys was in a proper sense free; to enslave Arabia is impossible:—Saoud knew it. He therefore was contented to put himself at the head of the shaiks, whose tribes had received his doctrines; and in this character, he mainly directed all their political movements; but those movements were generally in appearance, if not in fact, previously debated in council. Each shaik, however, in his own tribe, remained independent; except being obliged to conform to the strict sense of the law, and liable to punishment, if he infringed it. Formerly the will of an Arab was his law; but the Wahaūby chief now compelled him to obey, in all their purity, the civil and criminal, as well as the religious, laws of the Koran and Sunnet.

I extract with great pleasure the following excellent passage from Mr. Burckhardt:—"Whether "the commonly received doctrine be considered "as orthodox, or that of the Wahaubys should be "pronounced the true Mahommedan religion, is,

" after all, a matter of little consequence; but it " became important to suppress that infidel indif- " ference which had pervaded all Arabia, and a " great part of Turkey, and which had a more " baneful effect on the morals of a nation, than " the decided acknowledgment of a false religion. " The merit, therefore, of the Wahaubys, is not " that they purified the existing religion, but that " they made the Arabs strictly observe the positive " precepts of one certain religion; for although " the Bedouins at all times devoutly worshipped " the Divinity, yet the deistical principles alone " could not be deemed sufficient to instruct a na- " tion so wild and ungovernable in the practice of " morality and justice." And therefore, as I more than doubt that the impression which Mahommed Ally Paçha has made on Arabia, " by his gold, ra- " ther than the valour of his troops," will make the Arabs better men, happier men, or better neighbours,—I shall not regret to see the government which this paçha has, for the present, dissolved, rise from its ashes; for faulty as no doubt it was, time would have softened or corrected the worst of its faults; and I have no hesitation in saying, I prefer enthusiasm, or, if you will, fanaticism to atheism; the operations of the most imperfect laws, to the operations of anarchy; and that my imagination cannot figure to itself a more despicable, a more dangerous, a more cruel being to society, than an atheist Turk.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

Abdulazeez was the first Wahauby chief who sent Kadis, or judges, from Dereyah to all the districts under obedience to him. These were chosen from able and learned persons; an annual salary was allowed them; they were strictly forbidden to accept fees or bribes from the contending parties; and their judgment in all cases was to be ruled by the laws of the Koran and the Sunnet; from their judgment, however, there was an appeal to the supreme spiritual chief.

As a means of preventing robberies, Abdulazeez made every tribe responsible for such robberies as were committed within its territory;* and such tribes as were strong enough to repel or resist a hostile invasion of a camp or town, and wanted inclination or courage to do so, were punished by a fine equal in value to the amount of the robbery committed.

There was nothing which the Wahauby chiefs seem to have had more at heart, than the abolishment of the system of "*Blood revenge*," at once the cruellest, most unjust, and most vindictive principle ever adopted for retributive justice. In this amiable intention, they were never able completely to succeed; they frequently went so far as to compel

* Do not we find something of this sort in the elder part of our own laws, making counties answerable for robberies between light and its departure?

the relations of the deceased to accept the fine* offered by the homicidal party; but if the other party had taken its revenge before orders could be given to the contrary, they who took this revenge, were never called to an account for it.† To do this, was beyond the power of the Wahauby, even when that power was at its greatest height; for an act of this sort would have burst asunder every bond of society throughout Arabia.

It will not, I presume, be denied, that enactments, which have for their object the prevention of crime, are wiser than those which declare punishment for a crime committed on supposition: and it is in this light, that we must view the Wahauby law, that if in a quarrel or affray one drew a dagger and wounded another, the whole of the bystanders were fined for allowing the matter to proceed so far. When quarrels took place between tribes, Saoud first sent messengers bearing to both parties his commands to keep peace; if, after this, war between them took place, he levied a fine on both, and obliged each to pay the other the price of blood, for the lives of all those who perished in the first onset. As a proof how greatly Saoud was respected, and how firmly his power was esta-

* Abou Beker, the successor of Mahommed, fixed the price of blood at 100 she-camels. Saoud, each camel at 8 Spanish dollars; therefore the price of blood amongst the Wahaubys became 800 Spanish dollars.

† See Mr. Hope's excellent *Anastasius*, vol. 3, p. 182, *orig. edit.*

blished, it may be mentioned, that a single negro slave, sent by him, has frequently be known to arrest a great shaik in his own camp, and carry him to prison at Dereyah.* The Bedouins possess but little money, and therefore the fines imposed by the Wahauby chiefs, were levied in horses, camels, and sheep.

Throughout the whole of the Wahauby territories, the old law of *Dahkiel* or protection was abolished, at least as far as screening the culprit from the hands of justice; he indeed who had committed murder or killed another, might *fall Dahkiel* on a friend, to save him from the immediate vengeance of the deceased relations; but this *protection* could only extend till the culprit was claimed by the law. For petty crimes, the great shaiks uniformly claimed the privilege of granting *Dahkiel*, but Saoud never in the end permitted this to go further than intercession for mitigating the fine attached to the crime.

In the early part of the Wahauby governments, the offence which most frequently called for punishment, was that of holding intercourse with heretics, especially as the inhabitants of the Nejd were in the habit of visiting and trading with Medina, Damascus, Bagdad and Bassora; and the commission of this crime was so frequent, and consequently the punishment so often called for, that Saoud found it necessary, in this instance, to

* Saoud had a state prison in his house at Dereyah

relax his usual severity. The law declared, that if a Wahauby, whether Bedouin or merchant, should be found on the road going towards any heretic country, (of which the direction of the road, and the nature of the merchandize loaded, were considered as sufficient testimonies) his whole property in goods and cattle, should be confiscated to the public treasury; whilst, if he was found returning, that is, on a road leading from a heretic country, his property was not examined, and his person was respected. Arbitrary* impositions, common in Turkey, were never practised by the Wahaubys.

That which the converts considered to be the most oppressive part of Saoud's government, was the frequent orders they received to join him on his expeditions against heretics. In these cases, the Arab was obliged to find his own food, and camels or horses, and the only remuneration he received was his share of plunder, if the expedition was successful: such expeditions, therefore, were often to individuals extremely expensive. Saoud's maxim was,—there is no just and necessary war but against heretics,—such war is the service of God,—shall a man be paid for serving God? Whoever, on account of some minor offence, had incurred the displeasure of Saoud, could find no readier or easier way to obtain his forgiveness, than to join him on these expeditions.

Short of capital punishment, the severest that

* Called by the Franks *Avanias*.

was inflicted by the Wahauby chief was that of shaving the beard, but this punishment was confined to persons of distinction, or rebel shaiks, and and by most of these, death was considered as more tolerable, than the disgrace which attended the loss, in this manner, of what all oriental people hold to be the chief ornament of the face.*

The Koranic Law, in respect to robbery and many other things, is like the laws of some other countries, replete with nice and subtle distinctions; and the Sunnet, "full of wise saws and modern instances."† A thief, if taken, is obliged to return the stolen goods, or the value of them, and if he have

* I once in Persia, in the time of Lauf Ally Khan, saw the punishment of the loss of beard inflicted in rather a comical manner. There were about a dozen fellows who had deserted their colours in an action; they were afterwards seized, they were made to kneel down, their hands tied behind them, and a plank was raised before them to the exact height of their chins; on this plank a train of gunpowder was placed, and on the powder was laid the beards of these run-aways; behind each, a person held a drawn sword, close at his back; the powder was set fire to on a signal, and in an instant the culprits became beardless, but there was scarcely one who was not more or less wounded in the back by the sword, in consequence of an involuntary motion when the powder flashed; and of many the eyes were injured.

† "Modern instances"—these in some countries are carried very far; and there is one country in which one judge is permitted to interpret the law one way, and another judge another, and both are afterwards regarded as precedents!—a complete Dutch concert, where every man not only sings his own song, but sing it to his own tune. If this were put an end to, many an honest man's money would remain in his pocket, which is now shamefully taken out of it.

not used violence in the commission of the theft, no further notice is taken, or punishment inflicted; but if, in the commission of the robbery, he has broken open a door, his right hand becomes forfeited to the law.

He who, in a dispute, kills another with a dagger or a pistol, is condemned to death; but if death takes place either by a blow from a stone or from a stick, it is considered as manslaughter, and is compellable to be settled by the payment of the price of blood: and this is in consequence of its being supposed that the person by whom it is inflicted is not armed, or at all events, that he has not used any deadly weapon. If a person on foot is injured by a horse on which another is riding, and the injury be done with the forelegs of the horse, the rider becomes liable to severe penalties, according to the extent of the injury received; but if it be done with the hinder legs of the horse, the rider is not held accountable for it.*

Heavy penalties are ordained to be levied on those who curse a Wahauby, and still heavier on those who call him infidel,—those who know, and have been accustomed to hear, the odious terms in which reproach is conveyed throughout the East, will be pleased to find that the terms commonly made use of amongst the Wahaubys are at least decent, and seldom exceed *O! doer*, (that is,

* Because the sufferer is regarded as going too near the horse, and not the horse going too near him.

O doer of evil or mischief,) *O! Leaver off!* (that is, *O! Leaver off* of religious and social duties,) and an Englishman may; perhaps, be surprised to learn, that the punishment of putting the feet into stocks, (called Dibabi) is in use amongst the Wahaubys, very much in the same manner as it is with us,—that it is confined to the lower classes of society. Divorce amongst the Arabs was often resorted to, for very slight, frivolous, and unjustifiable causes; this Saoud, endeavoured, as much as possible to check, and whenever he heard that any one had sworn by the divorce, (that is, of his wife) he commanded that person to be severely beaten.

The neglect of religious duties was always severely punished:—to break the fast of Ramazan, without legitimate cause, subjected the offender to capital punishment, and Abdulazeez once ordered the sentence to be carried into execution.

Usury and lending money, on interest, (which had not been uncommon amongst the Bedouins) Saoud strictly prohibited, it being contrary to the express tenor of the law. But money might be lent, without offence, on the principle that the lender shared the loss, if there were any, or that he took one half of such profit, as might arise from the speculation for which the money was lent. These, as far as I know, I believe to have been the general outlines of Saoud's administration of justice.

REVENUES.

1st. Saoud received, as Mahommed ordained, one-fifth of the spoil taken in war.

2nd. The tribute established by the Koran, and known under the name of Zacat, or alms, which was levied on land, merchandise, and various other species of property. Land watered naturally, or by rains, paid a tithe or tenth of its produce; whilst from that artificially watered, a twentieth was only collected. The merchant paid two and a half per cent. yearly on his capital, and though this was collected from him on oath, the revenue was found to suffer grievous frauds in this branch of it. The Mahommedan law has fixed the Zacat with great minuteness, and those who wish for information respecting it, in detail, may consult Sale's translation of the Koran, and D'Ohsson's laborious and correct work, *Tab. Gén. de l'Emp. Otto.* Saoud divided the Zacat which he collected, into two parts; that which he received from the Bedouins, was carried to his private treasury; that collected from cultivators or townsmen, was carried to the Bait al Mal, or public treasury, and of this, there was one in every city, and indeed in every village of any kind of note.

3rd. The revenue, (which, like our ancient kings) Saoud drew from his own domains, was very considerable, and was constantly, until the destruction of his power, encreasing; for he had

established a rule, that when any district or city rebelled, for the first offence it was plundered; and if the offence was committed a second time, it was not only plundered, but the lands, and every thing else, were confiscated to the public treasury. Parts of the land so confiscated, Saoud sometimes bestowed on strangers, become converts, but left the major part of it in the hands of the proprietors, on terms something like tenantry; that is, on their paying, according to circumstances, one third, or one half, of the produce. Considerable districts were thus confiscated, and Mr. Burckhardt assures us, that at present, most of the landed property in Nedj, belongs to the Beit al Mal, or treasury; that of Kasym, whose inhabitants have been constantly in rebellion, is entirely held in farm, and many villages of Hedjaz, and in the mountains towards Yemen, are attached also to the treasury.

4th. Another source of revenue was from fines levied for trespasses against the law. The crime of disobedience was frequently expiated by fine, and it was a maxim in the Wahauby courts, that an Arab who falsely accused another, was mulcted to the public treasury.

To every Beit al Mal, or public treasury, there was appointed by Saoud a clerk or writer, whose principal business was to watch the shaik of the place, and prevent his pilfering from the public revenue; and for further security in this respect,

the Shaiks were strictly forbidden to interfere in the collection. The funds thus collected were appropriated to public services, and Mr. Burckhardt says, which perfectly agrees with every thing I ever heard on the subject, "that they were "divided into four parts." One fourth was sent to the great treasury at Dereyah; one fourth was applied to the relief of paupers; the pay of the Oulemas or doctors, who were to instruct the cadis and young men, and for keeping in repair the mosques and public wells in the district of the Beit al Mal, and one half was expended in furnishing provisions to indigent soldiers, or in case of necessity, furnishing him with camels on an expedition, and a part was appropriated also for the entertainment of guests. This last part was paid into the hands of the shaik of the tribe, a part of whose house or tent is a sort of inn, where all strangers may alight and be fed gratis; and therefore it was thought but justice that the public should contribute towards an expence so incurred; and to some shaiks this payment was every year as much as two hundred camel load of corn, the same number of loads of dates, and a thousand Spanish dollars in money.

From the great treasury at Dereyah, the Wahauby chief was enabled to relieve such of his followers, as had been plundered of their property by the enemy, and where the indigent Sectary, on an expedition, had lost either his camel or his

mare, it was from this fund that it was replaced to him. Besides this, the Wahauby chief, after the example of Mahommed, was in the habit of rendering annual presents of money to the Bedouin shaiks, as tokens of his good will.

The collectors of this part of the revenue, the Zacat, started every year from Dereyah, for the districts to which they were nominated, and they received a certain sum for their trouble, and the expences of their journey. The mode of payment was well calculated to prevent fraud; an Arab was fixed on to prepare a statement of the sums payable by the district; another collected them, and paid them over to the collector, who gave a receipt to the district or tribe, for the sum so paid.

The time appointed for the payment, was the first spring month, because the camel and the sheep had then produced their young; the place of payment was settled between the collector and the shaik of the tribe, and with Nomadic Arabs it was generally some well known watering-place, to which all interested were ordered to repair. It was from his private treasury that Saoud paid the expences of his house establishment, and of his own guard.

I fear I must confirm what Mr. Burckhardt states of the avidity which the Wahauby chiefs manifested in their dealings with their subjects, and that the possession of a fine mare often

tempted them to acts of injustice towards her owner; and that the trite line of

Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit

was never more forcibly exemplified than in Saoud. His income was always much beyond his expenditure: after the great plunder which was obtained by the capture of Kerbela, and the sacking of different towns in Yemen, he became more avaricious, and this corruption of his heart, (as the Arabs called it) had rendered many shaiks too cool towards his interests, long before Mahommed Ally entered the Hyaz, and probably had the Wahauby chief been as free of his money as the Turk, Mahommed Ally; would never have gained a footing in the Hedjaz.

I cannot from my own knowledge state any amount of the revenues collected by the Wahauby, nor even offer an opinion which would be satisfactory to myself on their probable amount I believe that the revenues of Oriental states are seldom known with great precision, even to the rulers of those states themselves, for there are many causes from which a variation in their amount must frequently arise:—a considerable part of them is collected in kind, and the value of such collection must depend on the value of the articles collected, which is constantly fluctuating. On this head therefore, the best thing I can do, both for the reader and myself, is to present him with

the following paragraph on this subject, taken from Mr. Burckhardt.

"Many exaggerated statements have been made "respecting the Wahauby revenue. Some well "informed Mekkans, who enjoyed frequent access "to the person of Saoud and to his family, and had "the best opportunities of knowing the truth, and "no reason for concealing it, told me, that the "greatest amount ever received by Saoud into his "own or the public treasury of Dereyah in one "year, was two millions of dollars,* but that in "general it did not exceed one million of dollars "annually. This does not include the sums re- "ceived by the treasuries in the districts and "towns, which however are generally expended, "leaving no surplus at the end of the year."

One thing, however, I think I may venture to assert as certain, that the revenue on an average exceeded the expence of the Wahauby chief, and, that Abdullah, at the time of his capture and the downfall of his state, must have possessed treasure to a considerable amount.

WARFARE, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE WAHAUBYS.

The ancient principle of the Bedouins, in this respect, the Wahauby never attempted to change; a force, on certain established regulations, was collected together for an excursion against an enemy; the attack was made, and whether successful or

* About £450,000 sterling.

otherwise, when that was done, the force was dissolved. It is true, that as the Wahauby power at Dereyah increased and became more stable, the retainers of the chief were augmented, and might not improperly be termed a body-guard; particularly, as they were paid and supported from the private treasury of the chief. But, after all, comparatively speaking, this force was numerically small; still, from the intimate intercourse it held with the head and leader of the nation, it was respected by the people, and never failed to distinguish itself in the field.

I have before mentioned, that war, by the Wahaubys, was considered as a principle of religion, and not, as amongst other nations, a matter of state; it was an excursion, and not a series of consecutive operations regularly pursued. When occasion required, therefore, the shaiks of the Bedouin districts were summoned to send their quota to perform "the service of God," *i. e. to war against heretics;* to shrink from this service was apostatism, to perform it required neither pay nor reward. The summons, as to number required, was made out according to the population of the district, and the detail of its execution was left to the shaik to whom it was addressed. In this sort of holy conscription, one rule, except on extraordinary exigencies, was invariably observed, namely, that only one half of the force of the state was called out, and that the half which had served this

year, was excused from serving the year following. From the age of eighteen to that of sixty, married or unmarried, all were liable to be called on. The cavalry, however, were not expected to join, unless it was particularly expressed in the requisition; but this was so seldom omitted, and the charge of service to those who possessed a horse was so heavy, that many sold their horses, to escape the liability of being called on; and thus Saoud impolitically diminished the number and strength of his best force.

A general and peremptory requisition was always couched in these terms:—"we shall not count "those who join, but those who do not;" on this summons, all were obliged to march, and to such as were really unable to furnish themselves with horse, or camel, and provisions, the means were supplied to them by the Beit el Mal. There was, however, another sort of requisition, called the *sylle*, which only called for the most select of the horsemen and camel riders, and this, it seems, did not call above one in twenty to the field; but the expeditions on which these were employed, were so expensive to the conscripts, that many preferred being severely fined, to personal service. It was allowable, however, unless the summons was for a general assembly or for the *sylle*, to hire a substitute; the cost of which, for an expedition of forty days, was from eight to ten Spanish dollars, exclusive of provisions. On short expeditions, it was

a favourite plan of Saoud's, to place two musqueteers on one camel, and the second man was called meradif. The quantity and nature of the provisions generally considered necessary for an expedition for the use of one person was:—

One hundred lbs. of flour, 60 ditto dates, 20 ditto butter, a sack of wheat or barley for the camel, and a water skin. The dates, mixed with the flour and butter, and the mixture or paste baked in the ashes, served for their morning and evening meal.

In the early times of the Wahauby, it was not uncommon for Saoud to address a mandate to all his shaiks, acquainting them "that such and such "Arabs had become his enemies, and that until "further orders were issued, every one was at "liberty to attack and annoy them." Three or four flying expeditions were then sent against them, and the Arabs so attacked, from a constant fear of losing their crops or their cattle, were soon brought to obedience.

It was but seldom that Saoud communicated to his magnates the plan of an expedition, before they all met at the place appointed for assembling; and this was some watering place which, from its situation, was likely to mislead the enemy; thus, if the march of the expedition lay to the northward, the troops and their chiefs were ordered to meet to the southward of Dereyah. Saoud's prudence and foresight in this branch of his warfare, were

notorious and proverbial, and Mr. Burckhardt states; "that when he invaded the Hauran plains, "in 1810, although it required thirty-five days to "arrive at the point of attack, yet the news of his "approach only preceded his arrival two days," and even then it was not known what part of Syria he designed to fall upon; and thirty-five villages of the Hauran were sacked by his soldiers, before the paçha of Damascus could adopt any means for their defence.

Saoud had formed a sort of body-guard, which remained constantly with him at Dereyah, and this troop, which was called Mendjyeh, was the only standing force he possessed; their known and established bravery, and their determination neither to give nor take quarter, caused them to be particularly dreaded by those to whom they were opposed; their number was about three hundred, and man and horse fought in armour; the horse, in such parts of him as were most open, and consequently most liable to receive wounds, was covered with a strong quilted woollen stuff, capable, from its texture, of defending the animal from serious injury, either by the thrust of a lance, or the stroke of a sabre; the service of these men was voluntary, both as to its entrance and continuance; but in their attack or defence, whenever called for, Saoud placed the utmost confidence, and he always kept them as a *corps de réserve*, for some special occasion.

The Wahaubys, in their warfare, paid no respect to the holy month of Ramazan; for the destruction of heretics and infidels, according to them, was fully as acceptable to God, as prayer and fasting. On their march, the shaiks of tribes were distinguished by their standards. Saoud had many, and of various colours; and his complement of baggage-beasts amounted to 200 or 250 camels at most; for during the time he continued in the field, he was expected to support and exercise the same hospitality he did at Dereyah. Mr. Burckhardt says: "If the army marches at night, the "chiefs, and all the great shaiks, have torches "carried before them." I never heard of this, and such a custom is so completely at variance with the common character of Arabian warfare, and so inconsistent with a system of surprise, which was that which Saoud almost always acted on, that I must be permitted to think, that in this instance, Mr. Burckhardt was misinformed. The main body of the army was always preceded by a troop consisting of thirty or forty horsemen, which body was called Sàbr.

The thorough-paced Wahauby, like the early disciple of Mahommed, was profoundly convinced that he who fell fighting with infidels and heretics, passed from this life instantly into paradise: thus it was, when a shaik was killed in battle, and his mare came galloping back to her own ranks, without a rider, that the event was announced to Saoud in

terms of satisfaction: "Joy to you, O Saoud! the "mare of such a man is come back."

In the capture and plunder of an Arab encampment, the Wahaubys, though they turned aside, and threw them a few rags, for the sake of decency, always obliged the women to strip themselves naked, but no further insult was offered to them, and when the plundering had ceased, some clothes were distributed amongst them.

To such as surrendered without fighting, Saoud seldom refused to grant security, or the *Aman Ullah*, viz. God's security. This was sometimes unconditional, and sometimes conditional; when unconditional, it extended to person and property; when otherwise, it was fettered with the Halka, by which was excluded the safe conduct of all horses, camels, shields, matchlocks, lances, swords, and all copper vessels.

It was only at Medina that Saoud thought it necessary to keep a constant garrison, for in all the other conquered districts, he relied on the prudence and valour of the shaiks he placed over them, and the terror of his own name, to retain the inhabitants in their subjection to him. To the south of Mecca, indeed, he is said to have recommended the shaiks to fortify, by towers, (borje) the places of their residence. The garrison of Medina was composed of matchlockmen from the Nedj and Yemen, and they received a liberal pay. These matchlockmen were considered to have formed the

élite of the Wahauby infantry, and it was these troops who stormed, carried, and plundered, Kerbela.

In the hasty and imperfect sketch which has now been laid before him, the reader will not fail to remark how little I have said concerning Abdul Wahaub, and how soon I lost sight of him, though in fact the founder of the sect. He took to himself more particularly the doctrinal part, and thus became the Moollah, (under which title was designated the spiritual leader and priest, the civil and criminal judge to the community) and he seldom or ever, I believe, took an active part in its external proceeding, or in its warfare. His son Mahommed, who succeeded his father in the characters above mentioned, had the misfortune, in his infancy, to be struck with an incurable blindness, and therefore, if his father, from choice, declined being martially active, he felt himself, from the loss of those organs, which are essential in all military operations, to lead a life of study, contemplation, and retirement, esteemed, honoured, and pitied by his countrymen.

Here, I had, originally designed to close my tale, but on reflection, I conceive many of my readers will entertain a wish to hear something in detail of the siege and capture of Dereyah. As it is now sometime since my correspondence with the East has ceased, I shall take this account from a work published by a M. Mengin, and when I say that

to this work MM. Langlés and Jomard have condescended to add several notes, I think I bespeak for it a certain degree of credit.

"Le 13 Janvier, 1818, Ibrahym Paçha, à la " tête de huit cents chevaux, vint reconnoître les " alentours de Chakra, et choisit le lieu le plus " convenable pour y établir son camp. Il y eut " dans cette occasion, deux hommes tués et plu- " sieurs blessés. Le soir il revint à son quartier " général et donna l'ordre aux chefs de se tenir " prêts. Le jour suivant on se met en route. La " marche était souvent retardée par l'artillerie qui " était obligée de se frayer un chemin à travers " des sables mouvans. A midi l'armée forte de " quatre mille cinq cent combattans arriva sous " Chakra, suivie de six mille chameaux chargés " de vivres et de munitions. Ibrahym la fit placer " au midi, et à l'orient de la ville, en ordonnant " aux soldats de faire des décharges de leur mous- " quets: l'artillerie prit position sur une eminence, " d'où elle canonna vivement la ville; elle était " secondée par le feu de la mousqueterie. La " nuit du 16ème la brèche était pratiquable " aux murs des jardins, couverts par les dattiers. " Les troupes furent envoyées à l'assaut des maisons " situées hors de la ville; on se battit de part et " d'autre avec acharnement. Les Wahaubys re- " poussèrent les Turcs; mais effrayés par l'effet " des obus et des bombes, ils cédèrent le terrain, " et se retirèrent dans la ville. Plusieurs forts

" furent pris et repris en peu d'heures. Les Turcs
" enlevèrent de vive force les maisons et les ou-
" vrages situés hors des murs. Dans ces attaques,
" l'armée perdit quarante-deux hommes et deux
" prisonniers, il y eut une centaine de blessés.
" L'ennemi laissa sur le champ de bataille cent
" soixante-huit morts, auxquelles on coupa les
" oreilles ; on vint les déposer devant le Paçha,
" avec les bannières qui avaient été prises sur
" divers points. Tous les prisonniers furent dé-
" capités sans distinction.

" A la suite de ce premier succès, Ibrahym fit
" investir la place. Les choses semblaient devoir
" prendre la même tournure qu'à El Raas : mais
" sans écouter les conseils de ses officiers, qui lui
" avaient fait commettre des fautes dans d'autres
" circonstances, le prince se rendit à l'avis de M.
" Vaissière, et forma de suite un siège en règle.
" On établit des redoutes où les Wahaubys avaient
" élevé des retranchemens, car il y avait dans la
" ville cinq pièces de canon. Le chef de cette
" artillerie était un Turc, déserteur de l'armée de
" Toussun Paçha.

" Lorsque les ouvrages furent terminés, l'artil-
" lerie bombarda la ville. Tout présageait que le
" siège serait long. Pendant qu'on était aux prises,
" des cavaliers moghrebins rentrèrent au camp :
" ils avaient fait une sortie sur des tribus ennemies,
" et ramenaient du bétail, des chameaux, et des
" effets de campement.

" Le feu continuel de l'artillerie causaît de
" grandes ravages. Le 19ème Janvier au soir, les
" habitans, et la garnison de Chakra envoyèrent
" un parlementaire à Ibrahym Paçha, en lui de-
" mandant à capituler. Il y eut pendant deux
" heures une suspension d'armes. Rien n'ayant
" été conclu, les hostilités recommencèrent avec
" vigueur, jusqu'au 21 au matin.

" La garnison députa de nouveau un de ses au
" quartier général. On arrêta les articles d'une ca-
" pitulation, après que Ibrahym eut donné un mou-
" choir blanc au gouverneur, Ahmed-Iben-Yahya,
" qui était beau frère d'Abdullah. A midi la ville
" ouvrit ses portes. La capitulation portait que
" les soldats au nombre de quatorze cents, déposc-
" raient leurs armes le 22; que le lendemain matin
" ils partiraient pour se rendre dans leurs pro-
" vinces respectives, en promettant de ne plus
" servir durant la guerre ; que les cinq bouches à
" feu seraient remises à l'armée turque, avec
" toutes les munitions, les armes, et les effets de
" campement. Le paçha donna la poudre, les
" lances, les sabres, et les fusils, aux habitans des
" Nedjd, ses alliés. On trouva dans la ville du
" blé, de l'orge, et du riz. Ces provisions furent
" achetées et payées : elles servirent à la subsist-
" ance de l'armée pendant un mois.

" Dès qu'il eut pris possession de Chakra, Ibra-
" hym députa un de ses officiers à son père, pour
" lui annoncer qu'il allait se disposer à marcher

" sur Dereyah. L'envoyé était chargé d'une
" grande quantité d'oreilles en signe de triomphe.

" Chakra, situé dans un plaine, est dominé sur
" tous les points par deux montagnes. Elle sou-
" tint six jours de siège, et se serait encore rendu
" plus-tôt si l'on eu attaquée sur la côté le plus
" faible. Dans l'intérieur des murs, la garnison
" et les habitans eurent cent soixante-dix hommes
" tués, et deux cent quarante blessés; parmi lesquels
" trente cinq femmes, et plusieurs enfans. La
" perte des Turcs ne fut que de cent trente
" hommes: beaucoup de soldats étaient dangereuse-
" ment blessés.

" Plus tard après la prise de Dereyah, Ibrahym
" Paçha fit démolir les forts et combler les fossés
" de Chakra. Elle était regardée comme la plus
" forte place du pays.

" Ibrahym Paçha ayant fait rassembler les vivres
" nécessaires à son armée, prit des dispositions
" pour partir, laissant trois cents malades et bles-
" sés à Chakra, où il établit un hôpital sous la
" direction du médecin Gentili. Après le départ,
" il survint une forte pluie, qui inonda la plaine,
" et obligea le général de placer son camp sur la
" montagne voisine. Une partie des vivres fut
" trempée par l'eau. La pluie avait formé des
" torrens, dont les habitans détournèrent le cours,
" pour l'arrosement de leurs terres et de leurs
" jardins.

" Dès que la terre fut assez desséchée pour

" permettre l'artillerie de marcher, l'armée se mit
" en route. Quelques villages aux environs de
" Chakra se soumirent, les autres étaient aban-
" donnés ; Abdullah avait obligé les habitans à se
" retirer sur Dereyah. Il fit conduire une grande
" quantité de bétail vers la province d'El Hassah,
" où il paraissait décidé à conduire les restes de
" son armée.

" Avant d'aller droit à Dereyah, Ibrahym Paçha
" jugea convenable de s'emparer de Dorama. On
" l'avait assuré qu'il y trouverait beaucoup de
" vivres, et que cette ville se rendrait sans com-
" battre. Les habitans, craignant qu'on ne dé-
" truisit leurs plantations, comme on l'avait fait
" ailleurs, se mirent sur la défensive : ils vivaient
" de leurs cultures, dont l'excédant servait à ali-
" menter la population de Dereyah, et fournissait
" aux besoins des caravannes, et des pélerins qui
" vont chaque année de la Perse à la Mecque.

" Arrivé devant Dorama, Ibrahym y trouva de
" la résistance. Les habitans en s'opposant à l'at-
" taque, tuèrent un grand nombre de Turcs. Le
" gouverneur, Souhoud ebn Abdullah, se vit force
" de se retirer dans une grande maison avec ses
" gens, pour mettre à l'abri ses propriétés et ob-
" tenir une capitulation. Entouré de tous côtés
" par les troupes turques, il prit le parti d'aban-
" donner les habitans à leur discretion. Le vain-
" queur, qu'une résistance inattendue avait irrité,
" ordonna à ses soldats de tout passer au fil de

" l'épée, et de n'épargner personne. Cet ordre " reçut de suite son exécution.

" Après avoir dispersé quelques partis ennemis, " les Turcs, avides de pillage, entrèrent dans la " ville, où ils exécutèrent les volontés de leur " chef avec plus de promptitude que s'il leur eût " enjoint de monter à l'assaut. Ils firent main " basse sur les habitans. La fusillade fut si vive, " qu'en moins de deux heures la plupart périrent " dans leurs maisons.

" Le gouverneur, retiré dans son habitation avec " des soldats fidèles, n'avait point encore été at- " teint. On plaça deux bouches à feu pour y faire " brêche, mais Ibrahym, ayant su que cette demeure " renfermait des objets précieux, des armes, et des " chevaux de grand prix, pensa qu'au lieu de faire " périr les derniers défenseurs de Dorama, il était " plus profitable de leur accorder le pardon qu'ils " demandaient. Il consentit à ce que le comman- " dant et ses gens sortissent de la ville sans armes " ni bagages, pour se rendre à Dereyah, en pro- " mettant de ne prendre désormais aucune part à " la guerre.

" Le 22 Mars, 1818, Ibrahym, qui avait été ar- " rêté par les pluies, quitta Dorama. Il marcha " vers Dereyah, dans l'intention d'assiéger cette " place. L'armée Ottomane été forte de cinq mille " cinq cents hommes, cavaliers et fantassins ; l'ar- " tillerie se composait de douze pièces, y compris " deux mortiers et deux obusiers : on alla camper

" à El Ayench, et de là on se porta sur El Mélka,
" plantation à deux lieues de Dereyah. Une partie
" de cette route passe à travers des montagnes
" dont les défilés sont fort difficiles à franchir. Le
" lendemain, Ibrahym poussa une reconnaissance
" avec huit cents chevaux, et une pièce de canon,
" jusque sous les retranchemens de la ville ; des
" troupes sortirent à sa rencontre, il y eut une es-
" carmouche : on perdit du monde de part et
" d'autre ; le général rentra dans son camp. Le 6
" Avril, il vint poster son armée devant la place,
" hors de portée de canon des ouvrages avancés.
" De leur côté, les Wahaubys prirent les positions
" les plus avantageuses à la défense.

" Dereyah est composé de cinq petites villes,
" entourées chacune d'une muraille garnie de bas-
" tions de distance en distance ; il y avait en outre
" un bon fort qui défendait le quartier appelé
" Ghácybeh, ainsi que Tourfych ; situés tous deux
" près d'une montagne. Abdullah ebn Souhoud
" habitait Tourfych ; Sâhl n'en était séparé que
" par le lit du torrent El Bâten.* Kosseyreyn se
" prolongeait au-milieu des jardins : ses habitans
" n'ayant aucun point de défense, se retirèrent, dès
" le commencement du siège, dans les autres par-
" ties de la ville.

" Les Turcs s'occupèrent de suite de construire
" des redoutes et de faire les préparatifs, pour dé-
" loger l'ennemi de divers forts, et des montagnes

* Which was dry except in the rainy season.

" qu'il occupait. Sur ces entrefaits, Fayçal, frère
" d'Abdullah, sortit de la ville avec deux mille
" hommes, pour élever à portée de fusil des re-
" tranchemens parallèles à ceux des Turcs; il
" s'empara aussi des positions, pour les empêcher
" de s'y établir.

" La nuit du 12 au 13, Ibrahim Paçha fit dresser,
" à la faveur de l'obscurité, deux fortes batteries;
" on y plaça deux bouches à feu. Le 14, au matin,
" on commença une vive canonnade contre un
" bastion placé sur le revers d'une montagne. Plu-
" sieurs Bynbachis* reçurent l'ordre de protéger
" avec leurs troupes l'attaque de l'artillerie, tandis
" que les dehlys† et ychagassis‡ gardèrent le dé-
" filé du torrent El Bâten, et que la cavalerie de
" Rochuan-Aga, unie à des Arabes égyptiens,
" marcha pour occuper la ligne du désert, et em-
" pêcher que le détachement qui défendait le bas-
" tion ne prît la fuite, ou que des troupes ne sor-
" tissent et ne vinssent, par quelque mouvement
" imprévu, mettre les Turcs entre deux feux.
" Ibrahym Paçha ayant sagement calculé ses dis-
" positions, commanda à son artillerie de battre
" en brêche : une tour du bastion s'écroula : à cette
" vue, les Wahaubys se mirent à fuir, abandonnant
" leurs blessés, deux pièces de canon, des muni-
" tions de guerre, des vivres, et des effets de

* Colonels.

† Turkish troops; the word means literally mad-men.

‡ Household troops, literally Gentlemen of the Chamber.

" campement ; l'infanterie turque poursuivit les " fuyards jusque dans les jardins de la ville : on " leur fit des prisonniers, qui furent de suite mis " à mort. Les soldats portèrent des têtes et des " oreilles à leur général, pour recevoir le prix de " leur trophée.*

" Les jours suivans il n'y avait que des affaires " d'avant-postes. Ibrahym, ayant été obligé de " se tenir sur la défensive, jusqu'à l'arrivée d'une " caravane qui devait lui apporter les moyens de " continuer le siége, donna tout le temps à son " ennemi de fortifier les positions qu'il occupait.

" De son côté, Abdullah n'épargnait rien pour " électriser ses troupes ; il leur prodiguait de l'ar- " gent et des vêtemens.† Les postes les plus im- " portans furent confiés à des hommes de son " choix.

" Ibrahym Paçha voulut pourtant s'emparer " d'une petite élévation, où il y avait deux pièces " d'artillerie qui l'inquiétaient. L'infanterie wa- " haubite défendit la position avec beaucoup d'opi- " niâtreté. Les Turcs étaient sur le point de " lâcher prise, quand leur général donna l'ordre à " Ouzoum-Aly et à Rochouan Aga de charger " l'ennemi en flanc. Ce mouvement, exécuté avec

* It seems that a pair of ears and a head were equal in price—50 piastres. This horrible and barbarous custom has often been the occasion of innocent persons losing their lives, to satisfy the cupidity of a Turkish soldier.

† When it was too late.

" précision, décida du succès. L'ennemi aban-
" donna son artillerie en se retirant sous le canon
" de la place. Ibrahym eut à regretter, dans cette
" attaque, Sélim-Agha, son Kasnadar, qui fut tué
" dans une charge de cavalerie.

" Après ce coup de main, Fayçal se trouva trop
" exposé dans ses retranchemens, qui n'étaient plus
" protégés par aucun fort, quitta sa position, et se
" replia avec ses gens au milieu des jardins, où il se
" mit à l'abri d'autres outrages.

" La joie que causait à Ibrahym ce premier
" succès, fut encore augmentée par l'arrivé d'une
" caravane de quinze cents chameaux chargés de
" riz, d'orge, et de farine, que le gouverneur de
" Bussorah envoyait sous la conduite d'un de ses
" officiers, au général de l'armée turque. On vit
" aussi arriver, du Kairo des Moghrebins, et des
" cannoniers, avec des chameaux chargés de roues,
" d'affûts, et d'autres objets d'artillerie. Les ma-
" lades et les blessés de l'hôpital de Chakra, guéri
" par les soins de M. Gentili, qui les accompagnait,
" réjoignirent leurs drapeaux. Des convois, ex-
" pédié de Médine et Aneyzeh, apportaient de la
" poudre, et des boulets avec du biscuit, cinq mille
" moutons, du blé, de l'orge, et du beurre ; ces
" provisions ramenèrent l'abondance ; le soldat re-
" prit sa gaieté.

" A peine l'armée fut-elle ravitaillée, que l'en-
" nemi fit une sortie sur le camp de Rochouân
" Agha, qui tenait à l'aile gauche : il fut vivement

" repoussé, et dut se plier dans la place. La tran-
" quillité ne fut point troublée pendant plusieurs
" jours. Abdullah fit élever des murs, et creuser
" des fossés, pour empêcher un assaut, sans que
" les Turcs songeassent à inquiéter les travailleurs.
" Voyant qu'il perdait chaque jour du monde
" par les maladies et le feu d'ennemi, sans obtenir
" aucun résultat satisfaisant, Ibrahym prit la réso-
" lution d'établir des redoutes pour battre en
" brêche un bastion qui donnait sur les jardins et
" les ouvrages de Ghâcybeh. M. Vaissière fut
" chargé de ce travail ; dès qu'il fut terminé et
" les pièces placées sur leurs plates-formes on com-
" mença le feu. L'ennemi de son côté riposta par
" une forte fusillade qui mit un grand nombre de
" soldats hors de combat ; mais le feu des assiégeans
" fut si bien dirigé, qu'il parvint à déloger les
" Wahaubys du bastion, et à faire brêche. Les
" chefs refusèrent de monter à l'assaut ; ils dirent
" à leur général que les soldats ne voulaient pas
" marcher. Les soldats criaient hautement que
" leurs chefs ne voulaient pas les conduire ; Ibra-
" hym ne put se faire obéir, et commanda qu'on
" cessât de tirer. Ayant consumé une partie de
" ses munitions, violemment irrité de l'inexécution
" de ses ordres, et fort inquiet sur le résultat du
" siége, il abandonna la droite du camp, où il se te-
" nait depuis quelques jours, et revint dans sa
" tente. Il écrivit de suite à son père pour l'in-
" former de ce que s'était passé, et lui demander

" des renforts. Ahmed Agha, son oncle, fut por-
" teur de ses dépêches. Dès que le vice-roi eut
" reçu cette nouvelle, il fit partir Khalyl Pacha,
" qui était gouverneur d'Alexandrie, avec trois
" mille hommes, infanterie et cavalerie.

" Les assiégés ayant attribué la conduite d'Ibra-
" hym à la timidité des Turcs, reprirent courage, et
" se fortifièrent de plus en plus; chaque jour ils ve-
" naient attaquer le camp; il en résultait des com-
" bats, dont plusieurs furent meurtriers. Des chefs
" de village, abandonnant le parti d'Abdullah,
" vinrent se rendre au quartier general de l'armée
" ottomane; ils conduisaient du bétail et des pro-
" visions qu'ils devaient porter à Derayeh.

" On était déjà au 26 mai, et le siége n'avan-
" çait point; deux mois s'écoulèrent dans cette
" position bien pénible pour Ibrahym Paçha. Une
" partie de la ville était libre; souvent on y rece-
" vait des vivres du dehors; des secours arrivaient
" de la province d'Hassa sans que les Turcs pussent
" s'y opposer. Les Wahaubys ne souffrant point des
" longueurs du siège, faisaient souvent des sor-
" ties, et obligeaient leurs ennemis à rester sous
" les armes cinq à six heures par jour; on perdait
" inutilement du monde. Il y avait dans le camp
" beaucoup de blessés et de malades. Un jour, c'é-
" tait le 21 Juin, après une action meurtrière où
" l'on avait eu cent soixante hommes mis hors de
" combat, parmi lesquels des officiers de distinc-
" tion, la troupe, fatiguée, était à peine rentrée

" sous les tentes, qu'un accident imprévu porta la
" consternation dans l'armée. Un tourbillon de vent
" du sud, fréquent en Arabie, s'éleva dans le milieu
" du camp, emporta le feu qu'un soldat avait allumé
" pour faire sa cuisine, et passa directement sur
" une grande tente placée au loin entre deux
" petites éminences, où était le dépôt des muni-
" tions de guerre. Il y avait plus de deux cents barils
" de poudre, deux cents quatre vingt caisses de
" cartouches, des obus, et des bombes chargés.
" Tous les objets d'artillerie furent perdus. L'ef-
" fet de la détonation renversa les tentes ; il y en
" eut plusieurs de brûlées. Pendant dix minutes,
" on entendit le bruit de l'explosion des projec-
" tiles ; les obus éclataient en l'air ; poussée avec
" violence ; ils mirent le feu à des monceaux d'orge
" et de blé destinés à la nourriture de l'armée.
" On s'empressa d'éteindre l'incendie. Malgré les
" prompts secours, la moitié des provisions fut con-
" sumée. On voyait des cadavres noircis par la
" poudre, des membres épars çà et là, des blessés
" couverts de plaies. La terre trembla aux en-
" virons ; Derayeh en ressentit la secousse.

" Cette catastrophe frappa les Turcs de frayeur
" et d'étonnement. Elle laissa Ibrahym Pacha au
" milieu des déserts, à plus de cinq cents lieues de
" l'Égypte, et en présence d'un ennemi plus nom-
" breux que lui, sans autres munitions que les car-
" touches conservées par les soldats dans leurs
" gibernes, et environ neuf cents gargouses, et trois

" cents bombes ou obus qui se trouvaient dans les " batteries. Ibrahym fut affligé sans doute, mais " il montra dans cette circonstance critique beau- " coup de courage et une grande présence d'esprit. " Il avait alors vingt-six ans ; à cet âge il sut se " raidir contre l'adversité. Ouzoun Aly lui en- " voya son adjudant, pour s'informer de sa situa- " tion, et demander si l'on avait pu sauver quelque " chose de l'incendie. " Tout est perdu," répondit " Ibrahym à cet envoyé, " il ne nous reste plus " que du courage et des sabres pour attaquer l'en- " nemi à l'arme blanche. Dites à votre maître de " se tenir sur ses gardes comme je vais m'y tenir " moi-même." Les chefs de l'armée suivirent son " exemple, et montrèrent la même résolution.

" Pendant que chacun faisait de tristes réflexions " sur la situation de l'armée, huit à dix éclaireurs " sortis de Derayeh, vinrent à la vue du camp re- " connaître ce qui s'était passé. L'alarme fut " générale ; on courut pour les repousser. Des " renforts survinrent, et la mêlé fut vive. Les " Wahaubys, voyant que les Turcs combattaient " comme les jours précédens, prirent le parti de " se retirer. Aussitôt qu'Abdullah fut informé " que les assiégeans avaient perdu leurs munitions, " il assembla son conseil, et l'on résolu unanime- " ment d'attaquer le lendemain.

" Prévoyant que sa position rendrait l'ennemi " plus audacieux, et qu'il ne manquerait pas de " faire des sorties, Ibrahym Paçha avait harangué

" énergiquement ses troupes. Il leur avait ordonné " de ménager les munitions, et de ne tirer que " lorsqu'il le faudrait absolument ; il leur avait dé- " fendu, sous peine de la vie, de céder un pied de " terrain à l'ennemi.

" Le jour suivant, au matin, les Wahaubys sor- " tirent de la place, au nombre d'environ quinze " cents. Ibrahym éprouva d'abord une légère " crainte, mais son courage prit le dessus. Les " avant postes commencèrent à tirer sur l'ennemi. " Le feu ne pouvait être de longue durée, les car- " touches devaient bientôt s'épuiser ; les chefs de " l'artillerie dépêchèrent au paçha pour savoir de " quelle manière il fallait agir. Ibrahym se trans- " porta sur une éminence où il y avait trois bouches " à feu, et envoya en toute hâte des officiers sur " tous les points du camp, pour ordonner qu'on " laissât approcher l'ennemi, en tiraillant par inter- " valle, et qu'on fit ensuite un feu bien nourri. " Au lieu de tenir les Turcs en échec, pour leur " faire consumer leurs munitions, les Wahaubys " voulurent tout-à-coup les aborder : l'artillerie " obtint alors tout son avantage : les pièces tirèrent " à mitraille. Accablé par le feu, les assiégés se " replièrent, en laissant beaucoup de morts et de " blessés. Les Turcs ne coururent point à leur " poursuite. Dégoûté par le mauvais succès de " cette attaque infructueuse et mal combiné, Ab- " dullah tint ses troupes sur la défensive.

" Ibrahym s'occupa de faire panser les blessés,

" et soigner les malades, qui augmentaient chaque " jour. Les nuits étaient froides, et la chaleur " était accablante pendant le jour. La dyssenterie " et l'ophthalmie faisaient des ravages dans le " camp ; les officiers de santé, malgré leur zèle, " ne pouvaient suffire à tout. Le paçha dévoré " d'inquiétude ne prenait aucun répos. Il fut at- " taqué de cette même maladie, qui le fit souffrir " pendant plusieurs jours. Ses yeux larmoyans " ne lui permettaient pas de voir la lumière. On " lui administra les secours convenables, et bientot " il fut à même de veiller aux soins de son armée. " Après l'explosion du dépôt des munitions, il avait " expédié des courriers à Chakrâ, Boureydeh, " Aneyzeh, la Mekke, Médine, et Ianbo, pour " demander qu'on remplaçat promptement ce qu'il " avait perdu.

" Après vingt-cinq jours, un détachement de " deux cents Dehlys, qui tenait garnison à Aney- " zeh, arriva au camp, suivi de deux cents cha- " meaux chargés de poudre, de bombes, et de " boulets. D'autres caravanes parties de Médine, " apportèrent des vivres et deux pièces de canon; " seize cents hommes, sous la conduite de différens " chefs, leur servaient d'escorte. A l'aide de ce " secours, l'armée reprit une attitude offensive.

" Fayçal-el-Daouch,* qui se tenait avec ses " Arabes à quelques lieues du camp, pour contenir

* This person must not be confounded with Fayçal Ibn Saoud, the brother of Abdullah.

" les tribus ennemies, se porta au quartier général
" afin de prévenir Ibrahym que plusieurs villages
" communiquaient journellement avec Dereyah,
" et qu'il ne pouvait empêcher les habitans d'y
" conduire des provisions. D'après ce rapport, le
" pacha prit la résolution d'aller réduire ces villages.
" La nuit du 15 août, il sortit du camp, avec deux
" mille hommes d'infanterie et cavalerie, et deux
" bouches à feu. A la faveur de l'obscurité, il
" passa à peu de distance de la place. Les Wa-
" haubys, prévenus de ce mouvement, ou avertis de
" la marche par le bruit des pièces et le hennisse-
" ment des chevaux, firent des décharges de leur
" artillerie sur les troupes turques, et y causèrent
" quelques ravages.

" Informé le lendemain de l'absence d'Ibrahym,
" Abdullah ordonna une sortie sur toute la ligne
" des assiégeans. Le combat fut opiniâtre : le
" feu de la mousqueterie et de l'artillerie dura plu-
" sieurs heures. La chaleur était extrême ; on
" voyait des femmes Wahaubites, portant des
" cruches remplies d'eau, braver les balles, pour
" donner à boire à leurs défenseurs. Après de
" grands efforts, les Turcs parvinrent à repousser
" leurs ennemis. Cette journée leur coûta beau-
" coup de monde : le médecin Gentili, appelé
" pour donner des secours aux blessés, eut le pied
" emporté par un boulet, en se rendant à la tente
" du Byn-bachi Ismayl Agha ; son collègue To-
" deschini lui fit l'amputation. Le jour suivant,

" Ibrahym Pacha fut de retour de son excursion, " qui avait eu le succès qu'il en attendait; il " s'était emparé du village d'Harka, où il avait " laissé un détachement. A peine rentré dans sa " tente, on lui dit que Gentili était blessé; il vint " le voir accompagné de M. Vaissière: il lui té- " moigna tout l'intérêt qu'il prenait à son état, et " lui promit qu'il ne l'oublierait jamais.*

" Cependant de nouveaux renforts arrivaient de " temps en temps. Le Byn-bachi Pachô, à la " tête de quatre cents hommes d'infanterie, vint " se réunir à l'armée. Peu de jours après on " reçut un corps de cavalerie, avec du bétail et " des vivres.

" Les Arabes, que le général avait dépêchés " loin du camp, pour faire des incursions sur les " tribus ennemies, ramenèrent quelques milliers " de moutons. Ces divers secours avaient rendu " le courage aux soldats. Ibrahym reçut aussi " l'avis que son père lui envoyait Khalyl Pacha " avec trois mille hommes. Ne voulant pas que " sa gloire fût partagée, il prit dès-lors la résolu- " tion de donner un assaut à la place pour la " prendre avant l'arrivée de ce général: après " tant de fatigues, Ibrahym avait la noble ambition " de détruire seul le boulevard des Wahaubys. " Le désir de terminer cette mémorable entreprise,

* For the honour of Ibrahim, it must be observed, he made Gentili a present of 10,000 piastres, and continued him as an army surgeon with a fixed salary.

" le força de prendre promptement des disposi-
" tions. Il ordonna donc à son artillerie de com-
" mencer le feu sur tous les points; l'infanterie,
" placée dans les redoutes avancées, tiraillait à
" travers les crénaux. Ce fut dans cette occasion
" qu'un soldat, apperçevant sur le revers d'une
" montagne, Fayçal, frère d'Abdullah, qui faisait
" une reconnaissance à la tête d'un détachement,
" lui tira un coup d'arquebuse, et le renversa.

" Il semblait que le siége devait trainer en lon-
" gueur, mais Ibrahym pressa les attaques. A la
" faveur de la nuit il réunit les troupes, auxquelles
" il commanda de se porter en avant, et ne laissa
" dans les redoutes et les batteries que les hommes
" nécessaires à leur défense. La cavalerie des
" ychagassis, conduite par son selikdar, reçut l'or-
" dre de se tenir en embuscade derrière une mon-
" tagne qui était à la droite du camp, pour se
" jeter au besoin près du lit du torrent El Bâten.
" Ouzoun Ally fut chargé d'observer les mouve-
" mens des assiégés. L'artillerie commença à
" lancer des bombes et des obus. Les Wahaubys
" prévenus par leurs espions que les Turcs de-
" vaient donner l'assaut à leurs ouvrages, étaient
" prêts sur tous les points; mais Ibrahym fit pas-
" ser sa troupe sur une petite chaussée où il
" n'y avait pas de postes avancés. Huit cents
" hommes d'infanterie, marchant sans bruit, arri-
" vèrent dans les jardins sans être aperçus, et
" firent feu de tous côtés. Les Wahaubys sur-

" pris, n'opposèrent aucune résistance; ils aban-
" donnèrent une redoute garnie de trois bouches
" à feu avec des munitions. Ceux qui voulurent se
" défendre perdirent la vie, ou furent blessés et
" prisonniers. Cet avantage mit les Turcs à même
" d'assiéger de plus près la ville de Ghâcybeh, et
" de cerner un fort où commandait Saad, fils d'Ab-
" dullah.

" Les ordres du général avaient été ponctuelle-
" ment exécutés: la cavalerie avait fait plusieurs
" charges près du lit du torrent, et obligé l'ennemi
" à se replier. Les assiégés eurent beaucoup de
" morts et de blessés. Il y avait parmi ceux-ci
" des parens d'Abdullah. Mohammed ebn Mo-
" châry, son beau-frère, eut le pied droit emporté
" par un éclat d'obus. L'attaque imprévue des
" Turcs du côté qui n'était point gardé, et la perte
" de quelques-uns des chefs au commencement de
" l'action, contribuèrent à la défaite des Wahau-
" bys. Les assiégeans n'ayant point rencontré
" d'obstacles, eurent peu de monde hors de com-
" bat; mais il mourut chaque jour des blessés
" qui ne voulaient pas se laisser amputer, ni souffrir
" qu'on leur coupât des chairs pour dilater leurs
" plaies.

" Le fort où commandait le fils d'Abdullah avait
" un matériel considérable en artillerie et muni-
" tions de guerre; il était défendu par cent cin-
" quante hommes, qui n'avaient de vivres que pour
" deux jours, parce qu'ils ne croyaient pas se trou-

" ver exposés aux coups de leurs ennemis. Saad,
" privé de secours, se rendit le troisième jour.
" Il s'en remit sans capitulation à la générosité
" d'Ibrahym Pacha, qui le retint prisonnier. Les
" Turcs étaient près des murs de la place. Ibra-
" hym, certain que la ville serait bientôt prise,
" voulait pour cette fois épargner le sang de ses
" soldats. Il fit prendre de nouvelles positions à
" son artillerie, augmentée des pièces prises à l'en-
" nemi ; des boulets et des bombes portèrent la
" désolation dans les villes de Sâhl et de Ghâ-
" cybeh. Les habitans voyant près de leurs murs
" leurs ennemis auxquels ils ne pouvaient opposer
" qu'une faible résistance, fatigués par les cris et
" les pleurs des femmes et des enfans, demandèrent
" à capituler. Ghâcybeh se rendit à condition que
" les Turcs n'entreraient dans ses murs qu'après la
" prise de Toureyf. Sâhl imita ensuite son exemple.

" La reddition de ces deux villes porta la déso-
" lation parmi les Wahaubys. Sahoud Ibn Ab-
" dallah, qui avait était gouverneur de Dorama,
" quitta Derayeh ; il fut pris avec d'autres fugitifs par
" un détachement de cavalerie qui gardait les pas-
" sages et les chemins du désert. Ibrahym l'acheta
" 10 bourses du soldat qui l'avait eu en sa posses-
" sion. D'abord il lui reprocha d'avoir manqué à
" la parole qu'il avait donnée avant de quitter
" Dorama, de ne point porter les armes contre les
" Turcs ; ensuite il le fit mettre à mort, malgré
" l'intercession de plusieurs chefs Wahaubys, qui

" étaient au quartier général dans le parti des " Turcs. Les soldats et les habitans eurent la " liberté d'aller où bon leur semblerait.

" Cependant Abdullah encourageait les siens à " une résistance inutile. On était fatigué des " longueurs du siége ; il ne lui restait que peu de " monde avec sa garde, composée de quatre cents " esclaves noirs. Ibrahym fit diriger le feu de " son artillerie contre la ville où résidait ce prince, " au milieu des restes de sa patrie expirante. Les " soldats furent obligés d'entrer dans Ghâcybeh, " pour faciliter les opérations dirigées contre " Toureyf et Tourfyeh. Cette dernière place mit " bas les armes.

" Resserré dans sa position, Abdullah ne voyait " autour de lui que des hommes consternés et des " conseillers timides. Les clameurs du peuple le " forcèrent à arborer le drapeaux de paix. Il en- " voya le 9 Septembre, un parlementaire à Ibra- " hym Pacha. Le feu de l'artillerie des assiégeans " cessa à l'arrivée de l'envoyé qui dit au général " qu'Abdullah Ebn Saoud, demandait une suspen- " sion d'armes et une conférence : elle lui fut de " suite accordée.

" Après quelques heures, Abdullah lui-même " vint, accompagné de deux cents des siens, à la " tente d'Ibrahym, à qui il fut presenté par son " dividar.* Ce prince gardant un extérieur affec- " tueux, était assis sur un divan. Abdullah s'ap-

* Literally, *Inkstand Bearer*, may be translated, Private Secretary.

" procha pour lui baiser la main qu'il retira par
" modestie ; ensuite il le fit asseoir, et lui demanda
" pourquoi il continuait la guerre tandis que le
" peuple demandait à se soumettre. 'Ainsi le
" 'voulait le destin,' répondit Abdullah, 'maintenant
" 'la guerre est finie.'—'Si vous voulez encore
" 'vous défendre,' répliqua le pacha, 'je vous
" 'donnerai de la poudre et des munitions.'—'Non,
" 'Seigneur ; Dieu a favorisé vos armes. Ce ne
" 'sont point vos soldats qui m'ont vaincu, c'est lui
" 'qui a voulu m'humilier.' Des larmes étaient
" prêtes à couler de ses yeux. Ibrahym chercha
" à le consoler, en lui disant que bien des grands
" hommes avaient aussi éprouvé les vicissitudes
" de la fortune. Le chef de Wahauby, demanda la
" paix, son vainqueur lui accorda tout, mais il lui
" répondit qu'il n'était point autorisé à le laisser à
" Dereyah, que l'ordre de son père était de l'en-
" voyer en Egypte. Abdullah réfléchit un instant
" et demanda un délai de vingt-quatre heures,
" pour donner une réponse décisive sur le parti
" qu'il avait à prendre. Après le café qu'Ibrahym
" lui avait fait servir ainsi que la pipe, il se leva
" et sortit de la tente avec le même cérémonial
" qu'il avait observé en entrant. Son fils Saad,
" qui était détenu prisonnier, lui fut rendu. Le
" pacha conçu des inquiétudes sur le résultat de
" cette conférence ; il craignait que le prince
" déchu de son pouvoir, n'eût pris la fuite, ou
" ne se fût donné la mort avant de se décider

" à partir pour le Kaire. Cette pensée l'occupa " tellement qu'il ne prit point de repos. Il donna " des ordres à tous les chefs de cavalerie d'établir " partout la plus grande surveillance.

" Dans le court entretien qu'il avait eu avec " Ibrahym, Abdullah avait conçu une favorable " opinion de sa personne; ces dispositions contri- " buèrent à l'abuser sur la destinée que lui était " réservée. Il pouvait, sans doute, prendre la fuite, " monté sur un dromadaire agile, et à la faveur " d'une nuit obscure ; mais il craignait que sa fa- " mille ne reçut des outrages, et que Toureyf ne fut " incendié. Il fit donc une action héroïque en se " décidant à partir pour L'Egypte. Après l'expi- " ration du délai de vingt-quatre heures, il se rendit " de nouveau à la tente d'Ibrahym, qui le reçut " avec les mêmes égards et lui demanda quelle " résolution il avait prise. Abdullah lui répondit " qu'il était décidé à partir,* pourvu que sa vie " lui fût garantie. Le prince lui dit qu'il ne pou- " vait disposer de la volonté de son père ni de celle " du sultan, mais qu'il les croyait l'un et l'autre " trop généreux pour le faire mourir. Abdullah " lui recommanda sa famille, il le pria de ne point " détruire Dereyah et de ne causer aucun dommage " à ceux qui avaient pris les armes contre les Turcs. " Toutes ses demandes lui furent accordées ; il " reçut un mouchoir blanc, en signe de paix, et

* " Sic ait ; *atque animum picturâ pascit inani*
" Multa gemens largoque humectat flumine vultum."

" retourna à Toureyf, prendre des dispositions
" pour le fatal voyage qu'il allait entreprendre.
" Plusieurs fois il se rendit au quartier général.
" Le pacha l'invitait à sa table et le traitait avec
" distinction.

" Enfin ce prince trop confiant fit ses derniers
" adieux à sa famille éplorée, il quitta ses amis,
" ses défenseurs avec regret, et sortit de son palais
" accompagné de Sourry, son Kaznadar, et Ab-
" delaziz Ebn Salman, son secrétaire, qui furent
" tous deux associés à son infortune. Sa suite
" était composée de ses esclaves noirs les plus
" affidés. Il se rendit avec ses équipages à la
" tente d'Ibrahym, prit congé de ce prince, reçut
" ses dépêches pour Mahommed Aly, et s'achemina
" à travers le désert, sous l'escorte de quatre cents
" hommes commandés par Rochouân Ayah.

" Cependant Abdullah était arrivé au Kaire, le
" 17 Novembre, 1818. Il fut conduit à Chobra,
" et présenté au vice-roi, auquel il baisa la main.
" Mohammed Ali le fit asseoir, et ordonna qu'on
" servît du café. Dans l'entretien qu'il eut avec
" ce prince, il lui demanda ce qu'il pensait de l'é-
" vènement qui l'amenait devant lui: 'Tel a été
" le sort de la guerre,' répondit Abdullah. Mo-
" hammed Ali désira connaître ses sentimens à
" l'égard d'Ibrahym Pacha, et lui demanda son
" opinion sur son fils. 'Il a fait son devoir,' dit
" Abdullah, 'et nous avons fait le nôtre, ainsi

" Dieu l'a voulu.' Le vice-roi le fit revêtir d'une " pelisse d'honneur, et lui destina la maison d'Is- " mayl Pacha, à Boulâq. Pendant l'entrevue, " Abdullah tenait dans sa main une petite boîte " d'ivoire, en forme d'écrin ; le vice-roi lui demanda " ce que c'était. Il lui dit qu'elle contenait ce que " Saoud son père avait enlevé au tombeau du " prophète ; il ouvrit : il y avait trois magnifiques " manuscrits du Koran, garnis de rubis au dehors " de la couverture, trois cents perles d'une belle " dimension, et une émeraude à laquelle était at- " taché un cordon en or. Mohammed Ali lui ob- " serva, que beaucoup d'autres objets avaient été " pris au tombeau. ' Il est vrai,' dit Abdullah, " ' mais mon père n'en a eu qu'une partie. Il y en " a eu de vendus à l'encan, une autre partie a été " partagée entre les chéryfs de la Mekke, des " Aghas, et des cheykhs des Arabes.'—' Il est de " fait,' répliqua le pacha, ' car nous avons trouvé " de pareils objets chez le chéryf Ghâleb.' En " même temps il fit apposer son sceau sur la boîte ; " Abdullah y mit aussi le sien. Le vice-roi lui dit " de la garder soigneusement, et de la remettre à " la sublime Porte lors de son arrivée à Constan- " tinople, où il devait bientôt se rendre. Le 19, " Abdullah partit pour Constantinople. Le vice- " roi avait demandé sa grâce, mais la politique du " divan fut implacable. Abdullah fut sacrifié au " ressentiment d'un peuple fanatique. Ce prince,

" après avoir été promené pendant trois jours par
" toute la ville, fut décapité sur la place de Sainte
" Sophie, avec ses compagnons d'infortune."

Jamque dies infanda aderat, mihi sacra parari
Et salsæ fruges et circum tempora vitæ.

I have preferred to give in M. Mengin's own words, to translating them into English, the foregoing account of the fall of Dereyah and of Abdullah's surrendering himself to the Turks, because as I possess no information on these subjects but from the public prints of the day, I consider this to be the fairest method both to the reader, to M. Mengin, and to myself. No one can fail to perceive how inferior in talent Abdullah was to his father, Saoud:—to this inferiority the Arabs are willing to ascribe their depression and his misfortunes; but Abdullah has never been accused of want of personal courage, though in judgment, political sagacity, and that species of generosity which attaches such soldiers as are the Arabs to their chief, it is acknowledged he was eminently deficient; nor did he possess that invaluable spirit of patience, which leads men exalted to high command, and having great things to perform, to listen to counsel; or, if he did listen, he possessed not the spirit of discernment, to reject the bad and follow the good. The bitter fate of himself and his family seems plainly to have been brought on by his want of conduct and judgment. To me it

is curious to see that the misfortunes of my old friends the Persians, in their warfare with the Russians, and the Wahaubys in their war with the Turks, originated in the same cause,—each brought undisciplined infantry, and magnificent irregular cavalry, to stand against the fire of artillery: the result of the experiment was the same.

The narrative I have submitted to the candour of the reader affords abundant proofs that if Abdullah had confined his defence to the mode of warfare in which the Arabs are so expert, and consequently so formidable, of harassing and distressing an enemy by sudden and unlooked-for attacks, —by charging their convoys of provisions,—by shortening, by various means, their supply of water,—it is difficult to imagine how a Turkish army could have been long kept together, on a parched desert, under a burning sun. There were, however, two mistakes committed by Abdullah, so fatal and so glaring in themselves, that I feel confident the reader has not passed them over:—the first at Raas, when he had intercepted the Turkish communication between Khahaira and Medina; when, by this means, their camp depended for its daily supply on two or three villages whose means were nearly exhausted; and when the cavalry of the Wahaubys was constantly hovering round their camp and scouring the country, he signed an ignominious peace, which, after all, was not ratified by Mohammed Ali Paçha. The second, his

singular supineness, or rather infatuation, in not beating up the Turkish camp and army on the 26th of May, when the dreadful explosion took place, which fired the one, and threw the other into the utmost dismay and confusion,—he fatally and unaccountably remained inactive till the next day, when his enemy had had time to recover from his panic.

He must have known, even if Dereyah was captured, that the whole Nedjd was not conquered. It might have been from humanity, it might have been from affection to his family, that he did not attempt to fly from Dereyah;* but the confidence he placed in Turkish generosity and faith must have been infatuation; and the more extraordinary, because it was against the maxims of his creed and the experience and consent of his countrymen. By the Arabs the lesson has been dearly purchased; but years hence may prove that its price did not exceed its future value.

I wish not to attempt to dim one ray of Ibrahim Paçha's glory. I feel unwilling to impeach one atom of his merit. But if all M. Mengin relates passed, I consider his chief glory to have been the manner in which he acted towards the fallen prince, (always, *bien entendu,* that when he received his submission, he did not hold out to him false hopes

* "He that hath a wife and children, hath given hostages to "Fortune, for they are impediments to great enterprises of virtue "or mischief."—BACON.

of life. This is a species of glory of all others *to a Turk*, the most honorable. His merit, notwithstanding all his errors and oversights, is, that he shewed himself possessed of decision, of presence of mind, of bravery, of great kindness, when occasion required, to his soldiers, by parting with that which to a Turk is the *unum necessarium*—money; and by, at last, an aptitude to receive counsel. But there are clouds over the character of himself and his father, which, to use an Oriental metaphor, a stronger sun than the sun of my pen can alone disperse.

Whenever the completed and appointed time of any kingdom or people arrives, *He* who measures all human affairs by rules inscrutable to weak man, seldom gives them much other means to judge of his divine designs, than by putting on the stage a weak leader, for those who are to be punished; and an able one for those who are to execute the mandate of his wrath.

END OF THE WAHAUBY.

NOTES TO THE WAHAUBY.

NOTES TO THE WAHAUBY.

NOTE I.

"*Only muster seven camel-riders.*"—Text, Page 8.

THE Reader may here remark, if he pleases, that the first convert to the Prophet was his wife Kadijea, who thereby obtained the title of Un-ul-Moumeneez, *i.e.* Mother of the Faithful; and that the first proselyte Abdul Wahaub made, was his father-in-law.

NOTE II.

"*Visible Imaum, or spiritual head of the followers of Islam.*"—Text, Page 9.

The following, from "Le Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman," by D'Ohsson, elucidates this point.

CODE DOGMATIQUE.

34e. Que l'Imam doit être vtsible, qu'il ne doit pas se derober aux "regards du public, ni être l'objet de son attente.

"C. L'Imam doit être visible, et doit se montrer au public, soit "dans les temps calmes soit dans les temps orageux, afin de pouvoir "diriger les affaires de l'état, maintenir l'ordre dans l'empire, "prévenir les maux, et dissiper les troubles qui pourraient l'agiter."

OBSERVATIONS.

"Cet article a principalement pour objet l'opinion des hétérodoxes "Sebyeys sur la personne de Mohammed, dit Mehedy, le directeur "céleste, qui est le doraième et dernier Imam de la race d'Aly.

" Ce Prince n'avait que cinq ans, lorsqu'il herita de l'imameth de " ses aïeux; à l'age de douze ans, il se perdit dans une grotte à " Semen-rey, qui donna lieu à differentes opinions, les unes plus " enthousiastes que les autres, sur sa nature et son apparition " prochaine.

" 35°. Que l'Imam doit être issu du sang des Courcyschs, sans " cependant que sa naissance soit restreinte à la branche de Hash- " chem, ou à celle d'Aly. Il suffit qu'il ne soit pas d'une autre race.

" C. Ce point est appuyé sur cette parole du Prophète :—' Les " Imams doivent être de la race de Courcyschs;' mais il n'est pas " absolument requis qu'ils sont issus de Haschem, ou d'Aly, vû la " légitimité du Khalifat, d'Ebu Bekr, d'Ormar, et d'Osman, qui " étaient issus de Courcyschs par d'autres branches que celle de " Haschem ou d'Aly.

OBSERVATIONS.

" La Maison ottomane n'a pas l'avantage d'être du même sang " comme l'exige la loi canonique, pour avoir droit à l'imameth. Ce- " pendant selon les opinions unanimes des Juristes modernes, ce " droit est acquis aux Sultans ottomans par la rénunciation formelle " qu'en fit, l'an Heg. 923 A.D. 1517, en faveur de cette maison " souveraine, dans la personne de Sélim I, Mohammed XII, Ebu " Djcafar, dit Mutewevckil-al-allah. C'est le dernier des Khalifes " abassides, dont le sacerdoce fut détruit du même coup qui ren- " versa la puissance des Mamlukes circasses en Egypte. Sélim I. " reçut encore dans la meme année les hommages du Schérif de la " Mecque, Mohammed Eb-ul-Berckeath, qui lui fit présenter dans " un plat d'argent les clefs du Kaabé, par Ebn Noumy son fils.

If we look at the renunciation made by the Khalif to Sélim I descended as he was from the Tartars, and the supposed right it gave him to claim being considered as the visible Imaum, it surely is one of the most extraordinary transfers on record; and if we regard the value to the Turkish Emperors of the acquisition, it must be esteemed as one of the most, if not the most precious ever made: for it is this sacred character, and the privileges belonging to it, which have preserved and maintained that Empire through many a direful storm.

BRANCH OF THE SCIENTIFIC

NOTE III.

"Slowly moving Ottoman."—Text, Page 11.

Towards the latter end of the year 1784, Mr. Latouche, who was then chief of the Bussora Factory, left it to return to England. He proceeded from Bussora to Bagdad, in order to take leave of Suleiman Paçha, whom he had been very instrumental in placing in that Paçhalik, and with whom he had large accounts to settle. The Paçha was at that time at War with the Chaub Arabs, a tribe which possess a large district, bounded on the North by the Walfar River, and on the South by the Gulf of Persia. The power of the Montefik Arabs was then unbroken, and Twiney, their great and renowned shaik, at the head of the tribe. He had agreed with the Paçha to make a forced march, and take the Chaubs by surprise. His encampment was on the banks of the Shut-al-Arab, and just on the line by which Mr. Latouche was to pass. Twiney then and for some time past, had had it in his power, either to afford great assistance in the expedition of our packets across the desert, or, if so disposed, to throw great impediments in the way of their transit; it was therefore thought right, that Mr. Latouche, previously to leaving the country, should visit him, and make him a small present. It was in the latter end of November, that our visit to the shaik took place, and we took our leave of him just as the sun was setting. His camp consisted of from 1000 to 1200 cavalry, besides necessary attendants.

The instant we were clear of the camp, the tents were struck, and the whole body began to cross the Shut-al-Arab, which is there more than half a mile broad, by swimming. The next morning about nine, Twiney beat up the Chaubs' camp, and completely routed their force. The march he made was nearer seventy than sixty miles, in a strait line, besides having two large nullahs or creeks to pass *à la nage*. The Chaubs considered themselves in perfect security, having intelligence that Twiney was engaged to receive Mr Latouche the preceding evening.

NOTE IV.

"The Shaik of Grain."—Text, Page 12.

The following is taken from "A Journal across the Great Desert, from Aleppo to Bussora, by Colonel James Capper."

"January 24, 1779. In the morning, Capt. Twyss came, and "told us he should sail for Bussora next day. He had six Eng- "lish gentlemen passengers with him, going over the Desert, and "also M. Borel du Bourg, the French officer who had been plun- "dered and wounded by the Arabs on the Desert. M. du Bourg, "wishing to hear the latest news from Europe, and perhaps also "desirous of conversing with a person who had travelled the same "route as himself, came and spent the evening with me at the "broker's house. I told him I was no stranger to what had be- "fallen him on the Desert, and easily prevailed on him to give me "an account of his adventures.

"The particulars of the business upon which he was sent, he of "course concealed, but in general terms, that soon after the "engagement between the two fleets near Brest in July, 1778, M. "de Sustine his friend and patron, ordered him to carry dispatches "overland to India. He said he left Marseilles on the third of Au- "gust, but that owing to the stupidity of the captain of his vessel, "and to contrary winds, he did not arrive at Latichia before the end "of the month; and from thence he proceeded to Aleppo. The "French Consul could not collect more than twenty-five guards to "attend him across the desert, with which, on September 14, he "began his journey. He met with no serious molestation until he "was within fifteen days of Bussora, when early one morning he "perceived himself followed by a party of about thirty Arabs, "mounted on camels, who soon overtook him. As they ap- "proached, he, by his interpreter, desired they would please to ad- "vance or halt, or move to the right or left of him, as he chose to "travel by himself; they answered that they should not interfere "with him; and went forwards at a brisk rate. M. de Bourg's "people then suspected them of some hostile design, and told him "to be on his guard. In the evening, between four and five

" o'clock, he observed them halted, and drawn up, as if to oppose
" him, and in a few minutes three other parties, consisting of
" about thirty each, appeared in sight in opposite directions,
" seemingly inclined to surround him : from these appearances very
" naturally concluding their intentions to be hostile, and conse-
" quently his situation desperate, like a gallant man, he thought
" only of selling his life as dearly as possible; he was armed with a
" double barrelled fusee, a pair of pistols and a sabre. As he
" kept marching on, he first fell in with the party in front, who fired
" at him, which he returned as soon as he came within musket
" shot of them, and killed the shaik : when he had discharged his
" fire arms, before he could load them again, several of the Arabs
" broke in from different sides, and cut him down. Stunned
" with the blow, he knew nothing that passed afterwards, until
" about an hour before day-break the next morning, when he
" found himself entirely naked on the ground, a quantity of blood
" near him, and a part of the flesh of the side of his head hanging
" upon his cheek. In a few minutes, he recollected what had
" passed, but as he could feel no fracture or contusion in the skull,
" he began to think his wounds were not mortal : this however was
" only a transient gleam of hope, for it immediately occurred to
" him that without clothes or even food, he was likely to suffer a
" much more painful death. The first objects that struck him when
" he began to look about, were, those who had been killed on both
" sides in the action ; but at the distance of a few yards, he soon
" afterwards perceived a great number of Arabs, seated round a
" fire; these he naturally supposed were his enemies; nevertheless,
" he determined to go to them, in hopes either to prevail on them
" to save his life, or else to provoke them to put an immediate end
" to his miseries. Whilst he was thinking in what manner, without
" the assistance of language, he should be able to excite their
" compassion, and to soften their resentment against him for the
" death of their companions, which these people he had heard
" seldom forgive, it occurred to him that they paid great respect
" to age, and also that they seldom destroy those who supplicate for
" mercy; from whence he concluded that if he could throw himself

" under the protection of the oldest person amongst them, he " might probably be saved. In order to approach them unper- " ceived, he crept towards them on his hands and knees, and when " arrived within a few paces of their circle, having singled out one " who had the most venerable appearance, he rushed forwards, " and springing over the head of one of the circle, he threw " himself into the arms of him whom he had selected for " his protector. The whole party were at first extremely asto- " nished, not having the least notion of his being alive; but when " their surprise subsided, a debate arose whether or not they should " allow him to live. One of them, who had probably lost a rela- " tion or friend, drew his sword in a great rage, and was going " to put him to death, but his protector interposed, stood up with " great zeal in his defence, and would not suffer him to be injured; " in consequence of which, his adversary mounted his camel, and " with a few followers, went away. When this contest was over, " the shaik, for so he happened to be, perceiving M. du Bourg " entirely without clothes, presented him with his abba or outer " cloak, and invited him to approach the fire, and gave him coffee " and a pipe, which an Arab, when he is not on a march, has " always prepared. The people finding M. du Bourg did not " understand Arabic, enquired for his interpreter, who was found " asleep slightly wounded.

" The first demand the Arabs made, was for his money and " jewels, which, they observed, Europeans always have in great " abundance, but which are concealed in private drawers, that " none excepting themselves can discover. He assured them, these " opinions were erroneous with respect to him, for that he was not " a rich merchant, but only a young soldier of fortune, employed " to carry orders from his government in Europe to their settlements " in India: but that if they would convey him to Grain, a place " near Bussora, on the sea-coast, on their arrival there, and on " the receipt of his papers, he would engage to pay them two- " hundred Venetian zequins, (about one hundred pounds sterling.) " After a few minutes' consultation with each other, they acceded " to his proposals, returned him his oldest Arabian dress, and

" during the rest of the journey, treated him with tolerable kind-
" ness and attention.

" After M. du Bourg's arrival at Grain, he easily prevailed on
" an Armenian to advance him the money, to fulfil his engage-
" ments with the Arabs, and also to send the French Resident at
" Bussora an account of what had befallen him on the Desert;
" desiring to be supplied with money and other necessaries, to
" enable him to proceed to Pondicherry. His letter, very fortu-
" nately for us, fell into the hands of the English Resident at
" Bussora, who having heard of our rupture with France, was
" convinced he must be charged with public dispatches of conse-
" quence, and therefore determined to arrest him. Every gene-
" rous mind will lament the necessity there was, of adding to the
" distresses of this spirited and unfortunate youth; but the lives of
" thousands, and perhaps, the safety of our settlements in India,
" depended on his being intercepted: but to prevent his being
" treated with any rigor, or suffering any indignity, Mr. Abraham,
" the second in Council of the Factory, was employed to seize him.

" The town of Grain, which is situated about seventy miles S. E.
" of Bussora, is governed by an Arab shaik, very much attached
" to us, but Mr. Abraham knew it would be very difficult to prevail
" on him to violate the rights of hospitality towards a stranger,
" and without the shaik's connivance the execution of the project
" would have been absolutely impracticable, Mr. Abraham went
" down to Grain in a country boat, accompanied by the captain
" of one of our ships, and immediately proceeded to the shaik's
" house, to whom he communicated his business. The Arab at
" first violently opposed the measure, but being mollified by pre-
" sents, and also assured that M. du Bourg should not receive any
" personal injury, he at last acquiesced. When Mr. Abraham
" knocked at the door, M. du Bourg had retired to rest, but he in-
" stantly got up to admit him, thinking he was a person sent from
" the French Resident, with an answer to his letter. As soon as
" he discovered the mistake, he attempted to defend himself, but
" was instantly overpowered and conveyed to the sea-side, where
" he was put on board the ship that had been sent from Bussora,

" and was just then come to anchor off the place. He had two " packets, one for Pondicherry and another for the Mauritius, " which were found; but M. du Bourg observed to me, that they " missed the key of the cypher in which these dispatches were " written, by neglecting to search the lining of his clothes. It was " perhaps a fortunate circumstance for M. du Bourg that he was " taken prisoner; for his wound, through unskilful management, " and the want of proper remedies, was grown extremely bad: nor " is it improbable that if he had attempted to proceed in a country " boat, the only conveyance that he could have got at Grain, his " wound would have occasioned his death, long before the boat " could have arrived at any French settlements in India. I made " use of these arguments to console him for his misfortunes; but, " zeal for his country, the natural enthusiasm of his disposition, " and the hopes given him of promotion, had he executed his com- " mission, made him deaf to everything I could say to console " him. Disappointed but not discouraged, he was then on his way " to Bussora, to proceed over the Great Desert a second time; " which, I was afterwards informed, he passed, with every assist- " ance he could receive from the gentlemen of our Factory."

The reader will perhaps allow me to make a few observations on this interesting Narrative. When I joined the Bussora Factory in the year 1784, Mr. Latouche, the principal actor in this drama, (at least as far as the resolution to seize M. du Bourg went) was still at the head of that Factory: Mr. Abraham was dead. I had therefore frequent opportunities of hearing all the circumstances attending it, from the mouth of the first-mentioned gentleman, who never refused to gratify the curiosity expressed by any of our visitors on the subject. Mr. Latouche was perhaps as benevolent, humane, and generous a being as ever existed; and he always prefaced his relation of this business, by expressing the pain it gave him to cause a young man, who had already suffered so much, to be seized, and thereby perhaps to destroy for ever all his hopes of advancement in life: and in strict justice to Messrs. Latouche and Abraham, I feel bound to say, that nothing but the deepest sense of duty could have urged them to do what they did; for they had

only received private, imperfect, and very confused accounts of war having been declared between England and France, which, if those accounts had been untrue, would have caused for the seizure of M. du Bourg, such reclamations, both from the French Ambassador at the Porte, and from the French Government itself at home, as must have caused their ruin.

The narrative of Colonel Capper, generally speaking, is substantially true, but there are some minute interesting circumstances omitted, which I will supply. M. Rousseau was, at that time, French Consul at Bussora, and the Arab, charged with the draft given by M. du Bourg to the Armenian at Grain, carried it to that gentleman, who either hesitated, or refused to honor it: the Arab indignant at this, and not aware of the consequences, immediately determined to see if he could get the money for it from Mr. Latouche, and accordingly carried it to the English Resident. This was the way in which Mr. Latouche first knew that M. du Bourg was at Grain. Captain Sheriff, a remarkably powerful man, was the Commander of the Company's cruiser, which carried Mr. Abraham down to Grain. The cruiser anchored out of sight of the town, and after dark, the Captain and Mr. Abraham pushed off from the vessel for the town, and left the boat and her crew near the beach to receive them on their return, after the business was done. Abraham knocked at the door of the house in which Du Bourg was lodged, and it was agreed between them, that the instant Du Bourg appeared, Sheriff should clasp him in his arms, and Mr. Abraham proceed to search his apartments. M. du Bourg came in his shirt to open the door, and on being seized by Sheriff, asked only to be allowed to retire to put on his drawers; this was refused. Mr. Abraham found the packets and a brace of loaded pistols in Du Bourg's room. Having now everything they wished, they covered Du Bourg with an abba, and carried him to the boat, which pushed off; and on reaching the cruiser, she weighed her anchor and sailed for Bombay; the dispatches thus seized, were never decyphered.

The shaik was for some time inexorable in respect to allowing the seizure of M. du Bourg's person to be made, and at last was

not "*mollified by presents*," but by being told that Du Bourg was a person who had run away from his creditors in Europe, with the design of cheating them. So that it was the old shaik's love of *justice*, and not his *avarice*, that induced him to act as he did; and the reader may judge of this, when told, that some years after, when Shaik Twiney, the great Shaik of the Montifik Arabs, (who rebelled against the Paçha of Bagdad, seized on the town of Bussora, and was afterwards completely defeated by the Paçha in a pitched battle on the banks of the Euphrates, to the northward of Bussora,) took refuge with the Shaik of Grain; the latter, notwithstanding he was offered large bribes on the one hand, and threatened with the whole power of the Paçhalik of Bagdad, on the other, refused to give up his guest. Old Suleiman Paçha, after trying bribes, threats, and every thing else, to effect his purpose, without success, made on the occasion a very remarkable speech:—"*After all, I regard it as a great happiness to have, in "case of a rainy day, a person of the temper of the Shaik of "Grain, so near me.*"

Now, I must be allowed to add, that M. du Bourg brought the principal part of his misfortunes on himself, for want of knowing the Arabs better, and by the hastiness and rashness of his firing on them. The shot that was fired by the Arabs, was like a shot fired by a vessel to bring another to; and had he submitted, and through his interpreter acquainted the shaik who he was, and what he was, they would have been glad and happy to have released him on the same terms as they afterwards did, even after the murder of their shaik, and have carried him safely either to Bussora, or Grain. Besides, it must have been evident to any who reflected, that the Arabs coming in so large a body, designed to rob without bloodshed. I am fully justified in saying this, because, except the imprudent firing, exactly the same thing happened to myself, in crossing the Great Desert, from Bagdad to Aleppo, in the year 1806; and in twenty minutes after we met "*our friends*," I was comfortably eating a lamb pilau in the tent of the principal person who stopped us.

M. du Bourg, on his arrival at Bussora, on his return to

Europe, was so highly incensed against the French Consul, that he neither visited him, nor took any notice of him, but became a guest at the British Factory, where I am sure I scarce need add, he received every respect and attention.

NOTE V.

"*Appointed by His Majesty and the Secret Committee of the East India Company.*"—Page 16.

In the month of June 1798, I received an order in Herefordshire, from the Secretary at the India House, to attend the Chairmen, Messrs. Bosanquet and Lushington, as quickly as possible; and on coming to London, I found considerable alarm entertained in respect to the destination of the French fleet which had sailed from Toulon, as well as, that the troops on board of it, were designed to pass through Egypt to India.

The morning after my arrival in London, I was carried by Mr. Bosanquet to Mr. Dundas at Wimbledon, and after several schemes were proposed, of which I respectfully pointed out the insufficiency and inutility, it was settled I should proceed to Bagdad, with an appointment from His Majesty's Ministers, and the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. The intent of this appointment, was, in the event of the French influence prevailing at Constantinople, to endeavour to keep the Paçha staunch to us; or if the Porte and ourselves drew together, to make him afford every assistance in his power to his Sovereign.

One of the proposals made to me, was to accompany Commodore Blankett to the Red Sea, as a sort of joint Commissioner with him, to all the Arab powers on the coast of it. This, however, I refused to accept, first, because Blankett, I believe, had never seen an Arab in his life, and consequently knew nothing of their manners and customs; and secondly, because I had seen in the Chairman's parlour at the India House, that the Commodore had more of Hawser Trunnion's disposition in him, than I chose to be connected with—for in a conversation, concerning the passage through the Mosambique Channel, some remarks being made about the

uncertainty, difficulty, and even danger of it; the Commodore very cavalierly exclaimed: "Lord d—n you all, for a parcel of fools together." I offered Mr. Dundas, to go amongst the Arabs by myself; but when I explained to him the services I expected to be able to render at Bagdad, he determined to send me there. God knows, poor Blankett had afterwards enough of the Mosambique Channel.

NOTE VI.

"*Command of his Kiah, Ally Pacha.*"—Page 17.

The predecessor of Ally Paçha, the Kiah, was Ahmed Paçha Kiah, and the last, was one of those extraordinary persons, who now and then appear, and rise to great eminence in the East.

He originally entered the service of Suleiman Paçha, in the very inferior station of a stable boy, from which one may fairly conclude his family was low in the world. On the capture of Bussora by the Persians, Suleiman, who was at that time Governor or Mussaleem, and had defended the town, was sent up to Schyras, as prisoner of war, together with Coja Yacoob, the great Jew *shroff* or banker at Bussora: Ahmed also accompanied his master.

The allowance Kerim Khan made to Suleiman for his sustenence, was not so liberal, as to preclude the necessity of his applying at times to Yacoob for assistance, who in the true spirit of Oriental foresight, never refused to grant it. The go-between on these occasions, was the boy Ahmed, and by these opportunities, he profited, to work himself into great favor, both with his master, and the Jew banker. When Kerim Khan died, and the Persian Government released Suleiman, the banker and the boy returned with him to Bussora, when Suleiman received from the Porte, the rank of Paçha; and the Government of Bussora, reinvested Yacoob with his former office as banker to the Government, and chief administrator of Finance; and promoted Ahmed to the rank of *Ich-agasi*, or gentleman of the Privy Chamber.

Shortly after this, Suleiman was elevated to the great Pachalik of Bagdad as well as Bussora, and Ahmed instantly received the im-

portant and confidential office of *mohurdar* or keeper of the Paçha's seal. It is a rule throughout the Turkish Empire, that on the elevation of a person to the rank of a Paçha of three tails, and on his nomination to one of the superior Governmnets, he should appoint a *kiah* or lieutenant, with an application to the Porte, to confer on the person so appointed, the dignity of a Paçha of two tails, and it is very unwillingly that the Port ever allows this rule to be infringed, because considerable perquisites are due, and considerable presents are expected to accompany the grant of such appointment. The merited confidence Suleiman reposed in Ahmed, and his great talents and aptitude for business, rendered Suleiman unwilling to make an appointment of another seal keeper, and Ahmed's situation rendered an immediate application on his part, for his receiving the distinction of two tails, indecent and improper. Suleiman, therefore, on one pretence or another, eluded all orders received from the Porte on the subject, till the beginning of the year 1785, when he nominated his favorite as his *kiah*, who shortly afterwards, received the tails from Constantinople. From this time, to the time of Ahmed's assassination, the whole and entire administration of the affairs of the great Paçhalik of Bagdad, which latterly had received very considerable augmentation of territory, rested on the shoulders of Ahmed: nor was this confidence ever abused, for Ahmed owed his assassination, not to any decrease of favor, or distrust of fidelity to his benefactor, but solely to an intrigue in the Harem, and Ahmed's own unwillingness to shackle himself with a disagreeable wife.

Suleiman Paçha had a daughter who became marriageable about the year 1790: at that time, and frequently afterwards, the Paçha had proposed to marry this lady to his Kiah, and latterly had promised that the marriage should be accompanied by his own retirement to private life, and an application to the Porte for Ahmed's appointment as his successor. The lady according to report, was extremely plain in person, and violent in temper; so much so, as to lead some to suspect, that her mind was not of the soundest. If Ahmed married this lady, her rank required, and she would probably have peremptorily demanded, that he should dismiss his

present harem, amongst which, there was a Georgian lady of singular talent and beauty, of whom Ahmed was deeply enamoured, and in whose society he delighted to spend those hours which he could snatch from the cares of Government. This lady, he found it impossible to part with; he therefore from time to time, framed different excuses, for avoiding the acceptance of the Paçha's offer, and the proposed honor of his daughter's hand.

By some means or other, Ahmed's conduct in the business came to the knowledge of the Paçha's daughter, and the lady, being heartily tired of living in single blessedness, which perhaps, the forms of her father's harem rendered more irksome to her; and feeling, as was natural, not very much pleased that her charms, whatever they might be, should be made light of, resolved to revenge herself on her temporising gallant, and to obtain for herself an establishment of her own. She contrived therefore, by means of some of the Jewish women admitted to the harem, to make known to Ally, a Georgian slave of her father's, and his *kusnadar* or treasurer, her wishes and resolutions; accompanied by a promise, that if he would contrive the means of putting Ahmed out of the way, she would bestow her hand on himself.

One part of Suleiman Paçha's household consisted of between two or three hundred Georgian slaves, forming a select body-guard to the Paçha, and from this class of persons, his predecessors as well as himself, were accustomed to fill up the most important offices of the state. Suleiman, however, by the advice of his Minister, trenched on this custom as much as possible, and consequently, the Kiah was by no means popular with this body: so that Ally ran little risk in disclosing his project to several of them; and had less reason to doubt that they would be ready to assist him in the execution of it. A party of assassins was soon formed against Ahmed, and a few peevish words which one day dropped from Suleiman on the subject of Ahmed, were reported by Ally to his confederates, as a regular command from their master to put the Minister to death.

It is the etiquette of the court of Bagdad, that as soon as the Paçha comes out in the morning from his private apartments of

the Palace, the Kiah should come to him, and take his pleasure on such business as requires to be transacted in the course of the day. At this time, the Paçha is never attended, but by such Georgians as hold particular offices about his person, such as the Treasurer, the Sword-bearer, the Pipe-bearer, the Coffee-bearer, &c. to the number of about nine or ten, and all these Ally had contrived to attach to his interest.

I have already mentioned that the Paçha, when in public, sits at the corner of an elevated Iwan or open room, at the opposite end of which are steps leading to the door of its entrance. It was when Ahmed had commenced to mount these steps, that Ally struck him in the breast with his dagger. The Kiah reeled from the stroke, and staggered to the corner where his master was sitting, making a faint appeal to him for mercy; and though Suleiman on seeing what had happened had covered his face with his shawl, he cried out loudly to spare his minister. The Georgians, however, had gone too far to heed the orders of their master, or to recede from the bloody work they had undertaken; and Ahmed, notwithstanding the Paçha's cries, was absolutely hacked in pieces by the conspirators. The Paçha, violently affected, rose hastily, ran into the harem, sending immediately for Mohammed Bey, an Arab, one of his counsellors, and for the Jew Abdullah, the court banker.

He had an interview with these persons in the intermediate apartments between the harem and the public hall of audience. His first exclamation to them was, "They have killed my adopted "son!—they have destroyed my faithful minister Ahmed." He then entered on the consideration of what was proper immediately to do. By the persuasion of Mohammed Bey and the Jew, who begged him to consider that the deed could not be recalled, the Paçha with extreme reluctance was prevailed on to order a public proclamation, that the death of the Kiah was undertaken in consequence of his order, from having made a discovery that Ahmed was endeavouring to supplant him; and as a reward for effecting the murder, he bestowed the hand of his daughter on Ally: the blood-stained nuptials were celebrated the same evening; and the poor old Paçha was left with the Hebrew, unavailingly to bewail

the fate of his favorite, and to lament the loss of his inestimable services. When I came to reside at Bagdad, in 1798, Abdullah became exceedingly useful and very much attached to me, and it was from him I had these particulars; but this I know of myself, that whenever in the course of business the old man mentioned Ahmed's name to me, the tears started in his eyes; and on a particular occasion, when the Paçha, the Jew, and myself, were of one opinion as to the remittance of money to the Grand Vizier, then at the head of the Turkish army in Egypt, and Ally Kiah held a contrary one, the Paçha said to the Jew and myself after the Kiah had left the room, "Ally has no more brains than a jackass."

As I had twice to conduct negociations of some intricacy with Ahmed Paçha, and saw him often for some months, I think myself well able to offer the reader a character of this most extraordinary man.

In person, appearance, and manners, he was the completest Turkish gentleman I ever saw; and by those who had seen both he was considered as being very like Sultan Selim, a circumstance which seemed to give him pleasure, as he always received an allusion to it with peculiar complacency. He retained no trace of the lowness of his early condition; his face though full, and slightly marked with the small pox, was very handsome, and his smile was more pleasing than it is possible to describe: his figure, as far as the folds of the ample Turkish dress would allow discovery, must have been good, and all his motions were dignified and easy.

In his dress, his table, and domestic establishment, he was particularly nice, splendid, luxurious, and magnificent. His temper appeared most equable, his voice most harmonious—and however he might be agitated or disturbed, his countenance never disclosed the slightest trace of what was passing in his mind. Punishments in Turkey as in Persia, generally are executed, even if capital, before the great man himself, but Ahmed never commanded these to be inflicted, without strongly manifesting how much he was affected by them. He had found time to make himself a most respectable scholar in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic; and at Constantinople and Tæheran it was acknowledged that none excelled him in the elegance of epistolary composition, whether on the

subject of diplomacy or other affairs of state. Whatever Mohammedan prejudices he had, he never threw them, as most Turks do, in the face of the Christians; always styling the Christians Nazarenes, and the Jew "Yehoudee," or Jew, carefully avoiding to use to either the offensive and opprobrious appellative of Giaour or Infidel. Notwithstanding this, he contrived to stand well with the most bigotted Mohammedan doctors at Bagdad. By strictly following the rule, that every one introduced to him could tell him something useful, it was astonishing to observe the quantity of information he had accumulated on various subjects, particularly on European Politics and the French Revolution. The greater part, however, of his information on the last was not given him from the purest sources, being generally afforded to him by the Frenchified Armenian merchants from Constantinople who settled at Bagdad.

He loved money, as believing it to be what particularly it is in the East, power, but he parted with it liberally for any purposes connected with his comforts, luxuries, or reputation. If he gave his word, I always found it might be depended upon; but to give his word was most difficult to prevail on him, unless accompanied by some saving clause which left future contingencies open to him without breach of faith. He had an invariable rule when any one was introduced to him, of saying such a person has told me so much good of you, that I have long been desirous of seeing you. In what I had to do with him, I could seldom or ever after the first time obtain a regular audience on business, but was either invited to meet him at the gardens, or to be present at some shew or fête at the palace, or something of that sort, at which time he would bring forward business as if by chance, and break it off just at the point which suited his purpose; always managing with wonderful adroitness to make you consider as quite sure at the next meeting to carry your own point, but when that came, you found to your surprise you had the same ground to go over again with no better effect. The only way I ever found to bring him to a conclusion was, when quite certain that the point in debate was right and tenable, never to allow myself to be prevailed on to argue it twice, for he had great fluency of language, and a power

of mystifying the plainest things, and of drawing conclusions from your own arguments against yourself—beyond any one I ever did business with. He was repeatedly offered and pressed to take the office of Reis Effendi at Constantinople, but he had a fatal security he should succeed his friend and master in the Paçhalik of Bagdad.

Of Ahmed, Ally was the reverse,—being ignorant, bigotted, irascible, obstinate, ill-mannered, and brutal.

The lively and accomplished author of Anastasius gives the following character of Ahmed Kiah, and also an account of his assassination; the latter being perfectly fanciful, as I can unreservedly avouch.

"Nothing, indeed, could be more fascinating than Ahmet's exterior—his features were fine, his figure noble, his manners dignified yet mild, his wit playful, without pungency—he seemed to promote unrestrained liberty of speech, even where it attacked most directly his opinions and interests; his own expressions often dropped as if from an unguarded and guileless heart. He spoke with affability to all, and never ceased bewailing the pomp his situation required. No passion could ever be perceived to disturb the serenity of his countenance or the placidity of his temper. He would occasionally perform acts of great liberality; always expressed his repugnance to harsh or cruel measures, and when compelled by reasons of state to sign the death-warrant, even of his bitterest enemy, shed tears of sympathy which he seemed afraid to show."

"But black was the heart wrapped in this fair covering. If Ahmet's countenance remained ever serene—if no angry word escaped his lip, no passionate gesture ever gave vent to his resentment, his malignant feelings only rankled the more fiercely within his steel-hardened bosom; his apparent candour was but the snare in which he entrapped the confidence of the unwary. Humble in his manners, his heart swelled with unbounded pride: for every piastre he gave in gifts, his agents doubled their exactions tenfold: his aversions, his hatreds, undiscoverable in the presence of their object, broke out with greater violence in distant times and places. The more he expatiated on the pleasure

" of pardoning, the more certain it was that he meditated some " act of signal revenge; and if he sighed at being obliged to re- " present his master, it was because he longed for Suleiman's death " to become master himself."

——— " Mean while tell me what is the news from Bagdad."

" Great, cried Feiz-ullah, great, indeed! I do not ask whether " you remember your friend, the Kehayah. Suleiman had toiled " so many years to give this faulty diamond a sort of false lustre, " that he felt loth to throw away his labor, and to own his choice " a bad one. Determined to leave a monument of his might, he " was too old to begin a new creation. All the insinuations against " Ahmet, therefore, were treated as sheer envy, until a day when " there came to hand a something passing hints—a packet from the " Reis Effendi, inclosing a letter to the Porte in the Kehayah's own " hand-writing. It represented Suleiman as wholly superannuated; " and the child of his favour only modestly proposed to set him " aside, and to step into his place. On receipt of this document, a " divan was immediately convened of all the individuals hostile to " the Kehayah, and the business laid before them. Suleiman " wished only to dismiss his old favorite; but being with much " difficulty made sensible of the danger of this lenity, he signed the " Kehayah's doom. Scarce was the order issued, when Ahmet " himself appeared. He suspected some plot against his authority, " and came to daunt his enemies. Suleiman gave him his wonted " reception, while the Kehayah casting a look of rage around the " astonished circle, only seemed to count the new victims he in- " tended immolating to his safety. No time was to be lost. Ally " Khasnadar boldly rushes forward, and strikes the first blow—all the " rest follow. Dropping down on his knee, Ahmet now raises to- " wards the Paçha his supplicating hands, but the Paçha had thrown " a shaul over his face, in order not to see the execution, and in an " instant the favourite was dispatched. His mangled body was " thrown out on the steps of the Divan, remained exposed during " the whole day to glut the greedy eyes of the populace; and his " head, added the Tartar, pointing to a little bundle tied behind him, " I have here. As it has been carefully pickled, I entertain no " doubt of carrying it safe to the Sultan according to my instructions."

The same agreeable author notices the Jew Abdullah, as follows.

"A descendant of one of the tribes of Israel was the secret "instigator of this attack upon our liberties. Formerly Chief of "the Customs at Bussora, the Jew Abdullah had been removed "from that situation on some complaint of the English factory. "He was since become, at Bagdad, not only the cashier, but "Chief Counsellor to the Kehayah, whose financial operations he "entirely managed. Ahmet would sooner have affronted many a "great man in office than his little Jew. Abdullah leaving his "ancient wife with his old employment at Bussora, had entirely "new furnished his harem at Bagdad; and it was said that in "honour of the young spouse with whom he adorned his new "establishment, he abstained three whole days from usury, the "sabbath, however, included. Little had this proof of love "availed him. The fascinating Sarah made but an inadequate "return for such sacrifices; and while the husband passed his "mornings with the Kehayah, one or other of the Kehayah's "officers used to beguile the solitude of his wife."

I cannot help attempting to defend my old friend Abdullah's connubial honor, by saying, that in the course of my long residence and visits at Bagdad, I never heard the slightest suspicion breathed against the honour or chastity of "the fascinating "Sarah;" but as Abdullah was the first instance in that part of the world of a Jew (although the Mosaical Law allows it) taking two wives at a time, the Jewish ladies of Bagdad and Bussora were extremely violent in their abuse of poor Abdullah; and my banker's wife, who came once with her husband to thank me for some services I had done them, plainly told me, "she hoped that "he would be cuckolded ten times a day, for he richly deserved it."

NOTE VII.

"*The Government of Suleiman Paçha.*"—Page 17.

This person was the Musáleem or Governor of Bussora, and defended the town against the besieging Persians under Sadik Khan Zund. When the city was at last surrendered, the Governor and the principal Ions were sent prisoners to Schyras. On

the death of the Vakeel, Sadik Khan left Bussora, and assumed the government of Persia, and shortly afterwards sent orders to the Persian garrison to evacuate the city. At the request of the inhabitants, and through the mediation of the English Factory, Suleiman and the Ions were released from captivity, and returned to Bussora, which, in this manner, was restored to the Turks. The Porte immediately afterwards appointed Suleiman, Paçha of Bussora. Ahmed, the Paçha of Bagdad, was deprived of life nearly at the same time, and thus that great Paçhalik became vacant.

Suleiman aspired to succeed Ahmed. The Paçhalik of Bagdad was indebted in several large sums of money to the East India Company, and Suleiman himself was largely indebted to several individuals composing their Factory there. It was judged, therefore, that to support Suleiman in his pretensions to the Government of Bagdad, was the most likely means of speedily recovering these debts. His interests at Constantinople were, in consequence, strongly recommended by the Bussora Factory, to the care and good-will of H. M. Ambassador at the Porte, and a very large sum of money was remitted to His Excellency, to be distributed amongst the great officers of the Divan, according to his judgment and discretion.

After the firman in his favor had been received, and he had taken possession of his new additional Paçhalik, Suleiman required an account of how the money had been employed, and to whom it had been given. 'Sir R. A. was then the Ambassador at Constantinople, and after some little delay the required account was transmitted to the Paçha. In it were several sums inserted as having been given to the Walidah, or Sultan's mother, to the Grand Vizier, to the Janissary Aga, to the Kiah Bey, &c. &c.; the account closing with an item of 20,000 piastres, (which in those days was full 2,000*l.*,) given *to a person whose name it was not proper to mention.* The Paçha repeatedly desired to know the name of this person, but never could obtain farther intelligence on the subject; so that to the end of his life he made no scruple, when he was displeased at any business between the Factory and himself, of pettishly accusing the Ambassador of having pocketed this

money. Of Mr. Latouche's services to him on this important occasion he always expressed the most grateful sense, and never mentioned his name but with regard and respect.

Suleiman had a great deal of waggery about him. It so happened that I had a guest arrived at Bagdad to whom I was anxious to shew the flight of the Shaheen hawk, which, when let off from the hand, skims the surface of the ground till it comes almost under its prey, and then mounts nearly perpendicularly to seize it. Of this species of hawk I was not at the time possessed. I ordered, therefore, my hawkman to make enquiry amongst all the officers of the Paçha who were allowed to carry and fly hawks, if any one of them had a hawk of this species to sell. The enquiry soon reached the old man's ears. Just at that moment he had one of these hawks which fled shy, that is, that fled up to his game. was afraid to attack it, and returned to his master's hand. This bird was given by him to one of his Ich-Agas or Gentlemen of the Chamber, and he was told he would carry it to a good market by offering it to me. It was brought, and with it such a character, as justified asking and giving a high price for it. I purchased it, and my friend and myself left Bagdad for a few days, and pitched tents near the Ruins of Ctesiphon, where in those days game of all sorts was to be found in abundance. The next morning the Shaheen was soon put to trial. He started beautifully and determinedly, but on approaching his game, which was a wild goose, which put itself in the attitude of defence, he turned off, fled back, and seated himself on the hawkman's hand. A second trial was made—a second failure—a third trial took place, and a third failure. I accused my hawkman of having over-fed the bird since he had been in our possession. He declared he had not. All the night the bird was kept awake by lights, and looking glasses placed before him, and no food given him. Next morning he was again taken out, and though the bird was most evidently eager for food, on being launched after his game, he behaved exactly in the same manner as he had done before.

After we returned to Bagdad, I had occasion to see the Paçha on business, and when the conference had closed, and I was retiring, the old man called me back, and said, "Ho, ho, I hear you had

" fine sport with your new hawk the other day—you must have " made an excellent bargain."—" So far from it," I replied, " that " I was thinking of applying either to your Highness or the " Minister, to oblige the person of whom I bought him, to return " me my money and take back his bird—he flies shy."—" If that " is all," said the Paçha, " you have no just cause of complaint, " because every one knows that an Osmanlee, (*i. e.* a Turk) never " sells a good hawk, a good horse, a good sword, or a pretty slave; " therefore, those who buy any of these articles from them, are " held to go to market aware of this, and with their eyes open," and laughingly added, " I am sorry in my conscience I cannot " afford you any assistance."

When I returned from the palace, I related to my hawkman what had happened, he said, " never mind sir, the Paçha is an " old rogue, but ten to one we shall be up to him before the " season's over."

Not long after, my hawkman heard that the Pacha, on the last day he was out with his hawks, had, in a very long and hard chase, lost the best of his *bala-bauns* or hawks, that are trained to fly after the antelope. Ally Aga, for that was my hawkman's name, came with great joy in his countenance to give me this intelligence, beseeching me to go out hunting early the next morning, as he thought it very likely we might fall in with, and retrieve the Paçha's bala-baun. Sure enough this happened. The bird was kept very safe and secret for more than a fortnight, when Ally Aga walked out with him on his hand intentionally towards the palace. He was almost immediately accosted by one of the Paçha's gentlemen, who asked him where his master got the bird he carried. The reply was—" it was a young raw bird sent to his " master by Meer Ally Khan, the Governor of Bunder Reig." " By my father's soul," replied the other, " I do not believe a word " of it—I will swear it is the bird the Paçha lost about a fortnight " ago."—" Forbear to do that, your honor," replied my hawkman, " for by swearing to a lie you will put your father's soul and your " own to great risk."

Ally Aga returned home, acquainted me whom he had met, and with the conversation which had passed between them, adding,

" we must immediately prepare for what will happen. I must " change the color of the new bala-baun." He, therefore, commenced washing him daily in the strongest grounds of coffee, and playing some particular tricks with the wing feathers. In a few days, as had been foreseen, the Paçha sent for the Linquest of the Residency, and told him he had great reason to believe the resident (myself) had found his favorite bala-baun, and that he was in my possession. I gave the Paçha to understand, that any one whom he would send for that purpose, should freely examine every hawk I had. It was not long before a person did come for this purpose. The whole of my birds were shewn him. He was particularly struck with the bala-baun, and examined him most minutely; and finished by saying, " if the color of the two birds, " and the wing feathers were not so very different in each bird, I " should swear this to be the Paçha's bird; as it is, I am convinced " it is not."

Not long after this, I had occasion to pay the Pacha a visit of ceremony, and as I was coming away, I said, " I hope your " Highness is satisfied about your bala-baun." " Yes, I am," said he, " but pretty much in the same manner as you were satis- " fied about your shaheen—you were taken in when you bought " your shaheen, and the fool I sent to examine your birds, knew " nothing of the business on which he was sent. I am sure that " your shaheen fled away with my bala-baun, (*i. e.* was the occa- " sion of losing it)—by my life tell me if it is not so—if it is so, " you are welcome to keep the bird."—" So called on, please " your Highness," said I, " the bird is your's, and shall be sent " to you immediately. I confess I felt much hurt at being so " much joked about my unfortunate purchase, and I was deter- " mined, if I could, to return the compliment to you in kind." The Pacha was greatly pleased at his bird being returned to him, but ever afterwards when I made any proposition to him he did not exactly like, he would say with a smile, " cunning Fringee, " (*i. e.* cunning European) what trick are you going to play me " now?"

Suleiman was, perhaps, as fine a specimen of a Turkish Paçha as ever existed. Born a Georgian, he was possessed of great

manly beauty—his stature and form were such as to give the greatest effect to the magnificence of the Turkish dress—his countenance had a strong expression of reflection and humanity—he was as expert in all military and field exercises and sports as those who made them their employment and profession—sincere and warm in the exercise and belief of his own religion, he was as tolerant as a Turk could be towards those whom an article of his own faith bound him to consider as infidels—exact and economical in his expences, he was accused of avarice, but when he considered his country to be in danger, he freely and readily parted with that which he had amassed slowly and by degrees. I can vouch (for it passed through mine and the Jew Abdullah's hands) to his having sent, first and last, to the assistance of the Eusoof Paçha, the Grand Vizier, during his campaign in Egypt against the French, half a million of pounds sterling in money. His court was splendid, and the establishment of his household was on the scale of that of a great sovereign. In the early part of his life he had received many favors and great assistance from the English, and to the very last moment he acknowledged these; and any favor asked for an English gentleman travelling through his Paçhalik, was sure to be gracefully and cheerfully granted.

The old man, like the Philosopher Square, had a humorous bye-word of the fitness of things; and in business with him, if you could touch this string in the right place, it would always respond in tune. Mr. Latouche had made him large advances in money, both for obtaining the Paçhalik, and other purposes; and when Mr. Latouche on his way to Europe proceeded to his camp, a very considerable balance was due to him, the payment of which the Paçha wished to postpone. Hearing this, Mr. L. said, "Is it fit "your Highness that I should, at 5,000 miles distance, say, the "Paçha of Bagdad owes me money?"—"No!" said the old man, "Ahmed (who was then his treasurer, and afterwards was the famous Kiah Paçha) "pay Mr. Latouche directly." It has been already said, the disastrous event of the plunder of Kerbelaie by the Wahauby, broke the old man's heart; and I was assured that when the account of it was first announced to him, the Paçha exclaimed, "It is not fit I should live longer."

NOTE VIII.

"*Nothing in the dress of the Envoy.*"—Page 26.

LETTER AND DRESS OF THE WAHAUBY ENVOY.

The Wahaubys in their dress strictly observed all the sumptuary precepts enjoined in the Koran, but there was one particular part of the dress by which a person of this sect was always known. The Bedouins or inhabitants of the desert universally wear on their heads a sort of handkerchief, called *keffie*. This is thrown flat on the head, being first folded to a triangle, the corners of which are left to hang on the neck and shoulders; the inferior Shaiks over this hoist round the head a piece of cotton cloth, woven with narrow stripes of red; the greater men of the tribe a Cashmire shawl, and these sometimes in full dress wear a crimson cap with a black tassel at the end, called a *fass*—the best and finest of these are manufactured in Barbary. Of the keffies, there are great manufactures at Bagdad and Damascus, and they are generally woven with a border in which there is a mixture of silk and cotton;* but those made to be sold at Dereyha or to the Wahaubys, are wove without any mixture of silk, and, therefore, by looking at the keffie an Arab wears, it is easy to distinguish whether he is a Wahauby or not. It is not the fashion to change these keffies, but on the great feast of *el Fether*, which commences on the close of the month of Rhamadan or the fast; the consequence is, that they are often in no very cleanly state.

For the epistolary style of the Wahaubys, it is impossible to present the readers with a better specimen, than the letter written between twelve and thirteen centuries ago by the Calif Abubeker to the Arabian Princes of the day, inviting them to the invasion of Syria. The copy of this letter is given by the learned Ockley, in his History of the Saracens, and is as follows:—

* "An Arab who had not embraced this creed would assuredly have some part of his dress of silk, either the kerchief round his head would be interwoven with silk, or his gown would be sewed with silk." B. M. W. p. 214.

" In the name of the most merciful God."

" Abdollah Athîk Ebn Abi Kohâpha,* to the rest of the true " believers. Health, and happiness, and the mercy, and blessing " of God be upon you. I praise the Most High God, and I pray " for his Prophet Mahomet. This is to acquaint, that I intend to " send the true believers into Syria to take it out of the hands of " the Infidels. And I would have you know that the fighting for " religion is an act of obedience to God."

The agreeable author I have before alluded to, makes his worthless hero Anastasîus pay a visit to Abdul-Aziz, the Wahauby Prince, at Dereyha; and as I am confident the description of this visit, though fictitious, is in perfect good keeping, I shall extract a part of it, and I can only heartily wish it may convey to the reader as lively an idea of the Court of Dereyha as it did to me.

" No sooner had my person and Mansoor's presents been made " fit to offer themselves before Abd-ool-Azeez than I requested an " audience in all due form. This was immediately granted. It took " place in the open air at the gates of what I needs must call, more " from the dignity of its tenant than its own, a palace; and the " Schaich received me squatted on a rush mat. Notwithstanding " his advanced age of seventy-five, he still displayed good features, " and a handsome, though somewhat harsh and forbidding counte- " nance, and through all the affected meanness of his dress shone " a lofty and commanding air. I felt a sensation of awkwardness " at the richness of my own apparel, so much exceeding that of " the high personage whose favor I came to seek. On this subject, " however, I might have spared myself any uneasiness. The " Schaich seemed to contemplate my glitter—if noticed by him at " all, with perfect indifference; and when I presented to him the " gifts of Mansoor he cast upon them the careless survey of a " man who considers such things as beneath his attention. The " letter certainly puzzled him. He seemed to feel as if it ought " not, and he saved himself by his supercilious glance the em- " barrassment of owning that he knew not what to make of it.

* Those were Abubeker's sir-names, and D'Herbelot tells us—" Le second " titre que Mahumet luy donna est celui d'Atik, qui signifie, Delivré du feu " d'enfer et par conséquent prédestiné."

" When, at the conclusion of my harangue, I repeated to him the " sentence, and shewed him the signet imparted to me by his " emisary at Bagdad, his brow unfurled, and his features relaxed " into a more affable expression. Still he remained, after I had " done a few moments, musing and silent. At last ' Stranger,' " said he, in a slow and deliberate manner, ' wonder not, if an " old warrior, accustomed to treachery and deceit, should not feel " immediate confidence in Mansoor's protestations. If the light " of truth has really penetrated his heart, the Lord be thanked, " especially by himself who must be the greatest gainer, since the " choicest blessings of heaven both here and hereafter never fail " to reward sincere conversion—but I know the faith of the Turks, " and I distrust the very Arab whose breath mingles with theirs. " Mansoor's artful conduct may have deceived, and it is only on " trial that I shall think myself secure of his sincerity. The de- " cisive hour, (added he, starting from his seat) is perhaps not far " off, when all who appear not for us shall be treated as if they " had been against us. The spears already are pointing, and at a " distance which no other eye can reach, I already see the war- " dust rising,' "

I have been principally induced to give the above quotation, because, during my long residence at Bagdad, I was assured, by more than one person, that whenever Abdul-aziz spoke of the Turks, it was customary for him to work himself almost to frenzy, and that he then made use of nearly the last words mentioned by Anastasius.

If it were not impossible that my humble judgment could add either to the author's fame, or his pleasure, I would say, that with all the descriptions of persons, manners, and places, which he gives, (of those known to me, and those not a few) I am delighted with their correctness and vividness. Burckhardt gives a description of the mansion or palace of the Wahauby chief, which, as it agrees with the account I received from persons who had visited it, I shall give in the words of that very intelligent and enterprising traveller.

" The mansion of the Wahauby chief stands on the mountain " about five minutes walk from the town; it is spacious but without

" any splendid apartments; all the married members of the reign-
" ing family have their own chambers, and there are many rooms
" for guests, with whom the house is constantly filled; for all the
" chiefs of tribes, who come to Dereyah on business, are invited to
" the mansion or palace of the great Shaik. There are not any
" Khans, or public inns, so that every stranger quarters himself
" upon some inhabitant, and the people of Dereyah are proverbially
" hospitable. The immediate neighbourhood is barren, yielding
" only some date trees. Dereyah is supplied with provisions
" chiefly from Dhroma, a large and populous village, one day's
" journey to the east, or north east."

NOTE IX.

" *The lamentable business at Kerbela.*"—Page 27.

Paragraph of a letter from the Resident at Bagdad, to the Chairman of the East India Company, dated Bagdad.

" The enclosed copies A and B, of political dispatches, from me
" to the Governor-General, contain so ample a statement of affairs
" here, that I have little to trouble you with in addition to them,
" farther than to mention that the most credible accounts of the
" value of the plunder obtained by the Wahaubys at Imaum
" Hossein, *i. e.* Kerbela, amount to three millions of piastres."

Extract of a letter from the Resident at Bagdad to the Governor-General, dated Bagdad, May 5, 1802.

" A number of the wretched victims of the affair of Meshed
" Hossein, mostly poor widows, and fatherless children, have come
" within these few days to Kasemeen. I sent 1,300* piastres to
" be distributed amongst them, which, at the same time that it was

* In addition to this, which was charged to the East India Company, the subscription of the Persians, for the relief of their brethren carried into captivity, was entirely managed by me, and assisted by the influence which my public character gave me at Bagdad, we had the pleasure to restore to their families and country, between two and three hundred of these miserable captives, every one of whom wishing to return into Persia, I paid the passage of. He who is acknowledged to have been the wisest of men has told us, —" Cast thy bread upon the waters: for after many days thou shalt find it." *The book of God uniformly speaks immutable truth;*—I think myself fortunate in having always believed it to do so; but if I had wanted proof of it, that proof, in this instance, was amply afforded me in Persia, the last time I was there.

" a most seasonable relief to the poor sufferers, will, in future, if I " may trust report, be very beneficial to the British interests in " Persia. A tradition, acknowledged for fact amongst the Persians, " has given this little donation a particular and very singular " effect."

The tradition acknowledged for fact in Persia, alluded to in my letter to the Governor-General, I shall give in the words of my old and worthy friend, and fellow-traveller, Colonel William Franklin, of the Bengal establishment. History, perhaps, does not contain a more affecting and tragical story than the misfortunes of Hossein in the plains of Kerbela.

" On the death of the Caliph Ali, who was assassinated at Cufa, " Mohweia, of the house of Ommia, succeeded to the Caliphat, " which he had disputed with Ali during his life time. Mohweia " dying shortly after, was succeeded by his eldest son, Yezzeed. " In the interval, the inhabitants of Cufa had sent a solemn em- " bassy to Hossein, at Medina, requesting him to come and take " possession of the government, giving assurance of their faithful " support. Upon this assurance, Hossein determined to set for- " wards, at the same time taking with him the whole of his " family (excepting his youngest daughter who was at that time " sick.) He began his march* to Cufa on the 8th of Zulhuj, " accompanied by a considerable body of troops. Intelligence of " this being carried to Yezzeed who was then at Damascus, he sent " orders to Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, to assemble an army " and to crush the rising rebellion, by cutting off Hossein and his " followers. Obeidollah in obedience to the command of his " master, sent his deputy, Ibn Saad, with ten thousand men, " giving him express orders to intercept Hossein in his route. " The army, in consequence, began their march; and Obeidollah " remaining in the city, took care by seizing the heads of the

* It was on this journey that Hossein saw, or imagined he saw, a wraith or warning spectre, which Oakley relates as follows:—

" When night came on he ordered his men to provide as much water as they " should have occasion for, and continued his march in the night. As he went " on he nodded a little, and waking on a sudden said:—' *We belong to God,* " *and to him we return.*" I saw a horseman who said:—*Men travel by night,* " *and the destinies travel by night towards them.*' This I know to be a " messenger of our deaths."

" faction, entirely to quell the insurrection, by which means the " Cufeans perceiving the situation of affairs, regardless of the " oaths and promises they had made, treacherously left the un- " happy Prince to his fate, for which behaviour they are cursed " by the Persians and all the followers of Ali to this day. " Hossein with his army had not advanced far, before intelligence " was brought him, that the enemy had taken their station between " him and the river Euphrates, which lay in his intended route, " by means of which he was entirely cut off from water, an event " of the most distressing nature in the sultry climate of Mesopo- " tamia, where from the violence of the heat, the weary traveller, " even when supplied with water, can scarcely exist. This was " the primary cause of all the misfortunes which befel him;—his " men disheartened at the idea of perishing with thirst, forsook " him in great numbers, deserting so very fast, that in a few days " his force was reduced to the inconsiderable number of seventy- " two persons; among whom were several of his own kindred, " particularly his brother Abbas Ali, his nephew Casim, the son " of his brother Hassan, his own son, Zein-ul-Abudeen, a youth of " twelve years of age, and his two infant children, Akbar and " Asker; of the females were his daughter Seekeena, his sister " Zeinab, and his aunt Kolsoom. In this situation, continual " skirmishes and distresses thickening upon him, were finally ter- " minated on the 10th Mohurrum, when Ibn Saad, advancing with " his whole force, surrounded this little troop, and they were cut to " pieces, after fighting most desperately. Asker Hossein's infant " son was killed by an arrow in his father's lap,* and Hossein

* " Quite tired out, he (Hossein) sat down at the door of his tent, " and took his little son Abdollah on his lap, who was presently killed with an " arrow. Hossein took his hand full of the child's blood, and throwing it up " towards heaven, said, '*O Lord! if thou withholdest help from us from* " *Heaven, give it to those that are better, and take vengeance upon the wicked.*' " At last he grew extremely thirsty, and whilst he was drinking, he was " shot in the mouth with an arrow. He then lifted up his hands, which were " both full of blood, and prayed very earnestly. Then Shamer encouraged " some of the stoutest of his men to surround him:—at the same time a " beautiful child, with jewels in his ears, came to embrace him, and had his " hand cut off with a sword; to whom Hossein said, 'thy reward, child, is " with God, thou shalt go to thy pious forefathers.' Then they surrounded " him, and he threw himself into the middle of them, charging sometimes " on the left and sometimes on the right, and which soever way he turned

" himself, at length exhausted with fatigue, and fainting under a " multitude of wounds, fell; his head was immediately cut off, " and the enemy's troops then rushing into his tent, began a general " plunder, and took prisoners the remaining son of Hossein, who " was sick in bed, together with the female branches of the family " already mentioned, bereaving them at the same time of their " ornaments and jewels, and treating them in the most insulting " manner. In a few days after they were all conveyed to Damascus, " with the head of Hossein, to be presented to the Caliph Yezzeed.

" The tradition goes that at this period an Ambassador of one " of the European states, happened to reside at the Caliph's Court, " who, on the arrival of the prisoners, was struck with compassion " at the miserable appearance they made, and asked Yezzeed who " they were; the Caliph replied that they were of the family of " the prophet Mahomed, and that the head was the head of Hossein, " the son of Ali, whom he had caused to be put to death for his " rebellion; whereupon the Ambassador rose up and reviled the " Caliph very bitterly, for thus treating the family of his own " prophet. The haughty Yezzeed, enraged at this affront, ordered " the Ambassador to go himself and bring him the head of Zein- " ul-abudeen, on pain of immediate death; this, however, the " Ambassador flatly refused, and as the Persians believe, embracing " the head of Hossein, turned Mussulman, on which he was im- " mediately put to death by the command of Yezzeed."

I have read some where, and I cannot now recollect where, that the ambassador here mentioned was a person sent from the Greek Emperor, who happened to be present on the arrival at Damascus of these miserable captives: be this as it may, the Persians think

" himself, they flew off like so many deer before a lion. His sister, Zeinab, " the daughter of Fatima, came and said, 'I wish the heavens would fall " upon the earth';' then turning to Amer, she asked him, 'if he could stand " by and see Hossein killed.' Whereupon tears trickled down his beard, and " he turned his face away from her. Nobody offered to meddle with him till " Shamer set them on again, with reproaches and curses; one of them for " fear of Shamer, threw a lance at him, but made it fall short, because he " would not hurt him. At last one wounded him upon the hand, a second " upon the neck, whilst a third thrust him through with a spear. When he " was dead they cut off his head; and when the corpse was searched, there " were found upon it three-and-thirty wounds and four-and-thirty bruises."— *Ockley, Hist. Sar.* v. 2.

the interference and conduct of the European was much to his honor, and in the scenic representation of this tragedy on the tenth of Moharrum, the character of the European is never omitted. I have twice happened to be in Persia at this epoch, and each time it cost me a suit of clothes, to dress out the representative of this important personage. The Persians, if they can, prevail on an Armenian to play this part of the sacred drama. The reader who may wish for a more detailed account of this lamentable catastrophe, will find it in the second volume of Ockley's History of the Saracens; and though quaintly told, if he reads it without being sensibly affected, he has much stronger nerves than I am possessed of.

When the head of Hossein, and the prisoners, were carried before Obeidollah, the Governor of Cufa, he treated both the one and the other with great indignity; but, on their arrival at Damascus, Yezzeed is said to have expressed sorrow at the death of Hossein, and ultimately sent the women and children to Medina honorably attended.

Ockley has a story on this subject which has always pleased and affected me so much, that I cannot repress the desire I feel to lay it before the reader.

"The person to whose care Yezid had committed them, behaved himself so civilly and respectfully to them all the way, (for they "travelled in the night as well as in the day, and he was very vigi- "lant over them) that Phatemah said to her sister Zeinab: 'Sister, "this Syrian hath behaved himself so kindly to us, do not you "think we ought to make him a present?'—'Alas!' said Zeinab, "'we have nothing to present him withal but our jewels.'—'Then,' "said the girl, 'let us give him them:" she consented, and they "took off their bracelets, and sent them to him with an apology, "begging of him to accept of them as a token of their respect for "his courtesy: he modestly refused them, with this generous an- "swer: 'If what I have done had been only with regard to this "world, a less price than your jewels had been a sufficient reward; "but what I did was for God's sake, and upon the account of your "relation to the Prophet, God's peace be upon him.' When they "came to Medina, there was such lamentation made between them "and the rest of the family of Hashem, as is not to be expressed."

Notwithstanding the Persians so confidently assert that the body of Hossein was buried at Kerbela, and that the remains of it lie under the dome erected over it by the first sultan of the Bovide race, (Abab-ed-dowlah) there are strong reasons for doubting whether such is the fact. Ockley, from a MS. in Archbishop Laud's Collection, says, "then they rode their horses over Hossein's body "backwards and forwards so often, that they trampled it into the "very ground;" and afterwards, apparently from the same authority, says, "some pretend to shew his burying place near the river "Kerbela; others say there are no footsteps of it remaining."*

Ockley, on the authority of Abulpheda, says:—"There are dif- "ferent reports concerning the head; some say it was sent to Me- "dina, and buried by his mother; others that it was buried at "Damascus, in a place called the garden-gate, from whence it was "removed to Ascalon, and afterwards, by the caliphs of Egypt, to "Grand Cairo, where they interred it, and erected a monument "over it, which they called the sepulchre of Hossein the Martyr. "The Egyptian caliphs, who called themselves Phatemites, and "had possession of Egypt from before the year 400 till after the "year 660, pretend that Hossein's head came into Egypt after the "five hundredth year of the Hegirah; but the Imams or the "learned say there is no foundation for this story of theirs, but "that they only intended by it to make their pretence to the no- "bility of their extraction pass more current, since they called "themselves Phatemites, as being descended from Mohammed's "daughter Phatemah,"† (who was Hossein's mother.)

* D'Herbelot, in the Life of Motavakkel the tenth caliph, tells us: "L'an "236, H. Motavakkel, qui s'était déclaré hautement l'ennemi d'Ali et de "toute sa postérité, défendit sous de rigoureuses peines les pélérinages qui se "faisait à son tombeau, et ordonna peu après que le tombeau de Houssain, "fils d'Ali, qui était dans la Plaine de Kerbela, où il avait été tué, fût en- "tièrement rasé; et que, en effacer entièrement tous les vestiges, il ne se "contenta pas d'en faire labourer la terre, mais il y fit passer encore un canal "d'eau dessus.

"Les Schiites, ou sectateurs d'Ali, qui donnent à ce sépulcre de Houssain "le nom de Maschad Moccades, Moali, Mozzeki, c'est-à-dire le lieu saint, "sublime, et pur, où Houssain, qu'ils regardent comme un martyr, a souffert "la mort, disent que Motavakkel fut frustré de son attente, et qu'il ne fut "jamais possible de conduire l'eau du canal jusqu'à ce tombeau, et qu'elle "s'arrêta par respect à sa vûe; ce qui fit que l'on lui donna le nom de Haïr, "qui signifie étonné, et respectueux, nom qui a passé jusqu'au-sépulcre même "de Houssain, à cause d'une telle merveille."

† The account D'Herbelot gives of the head is this: "La tête de Houssain

"

Malcolm says, I know not on what authority, that *forty days* after the death of the Imaum, the head was brought back from Damascus, and buried at Kerbela: it is certain the Persians commemorate this event on the 20th of the month of Sefer, but I consider it to be equally certain it never took place. Of these and such-like tales may be said

——— "Isti *fabulæ* librum
"Persimilem, cujus, velut ægri somnia vanæ
"Fingentur species."

Translation, *ad literam*, of a note written by Hajee Hossein, a merchant residing at Kazemeen, near Bagdad, to Harford Jones, Esq. Political Resident at the Court of the Paçha of Bagdad, which I am indebted to the politeness of the East India Company for permission to take a copy from their records.

An Account of what in these times happened at Imaum Hossein.

On Wednesday the 18th of Zilhijeh, (2nd April) news reached Imaum Hossein that the Wăhaubys were arrived. The inhabitants of the town were some of them on pilgrimage, (at Meshed Ally) and some in the town; and when the above intelligence was received, every one of those at Imaum Hossein hastened towards the gates; and a person then present, on whose veracity dependence may be placed, reports, that at that time he was on the tower of the gate which fronts towards the Kimeh Gah,* which being an elevated situation, he perceived the Wahaubys at a distance, who, according to the best of his judgment, amounted to between 6 and 7000 camels, and about 400 or 500 horsemen, who, when they drew near to the gardens surrounding the town, dismounted, and pitched about ten or twelve tents, amongst which was a green tent, about which they all collected, and divided their forces into three parts,—one part of which marched to the northward, one to the southward, and the other towards the Kimeh Gah gate.

"fut envoyée par Obeidollah à Sezid, qui lui insulta, et ne permit qu'avec "peine qu'elle fut enterrée dans la ville de Damas. Elle fut mise d'abord "dans un lieu nommé Bab-al-faradis, la porte des jardins, d'où elle fut trans- "portée à Ascalon en Palestine, et de là au Caire, par les Khalifes fathemites, "maîtres de la Syrie, et de l'Egypte, dans une mosquie bâtit exprès, sous le "nom de Maschehad Houssain, c'est-à-dire le sépulcre du martyr Houssain."

* The place where Hossein's tent, during the battle, was supposed to be pitched.

Between this gate and near to the city, is a caravanserai, built by the present Paçha of Bagdad, of which they took possession, and began to fire at the tower of the Kimch Gah gate, and at length made a breach in the wall. The Nakeeb, whose name is Syed Mortizeh, and the Governor of the city, Moollah Omar, fled from another gate; and the inhabitants, seeing this, every one began to occupy himself in providing means for his own safety; and the Wahaubys entered the city, putting to death whomsoever they met in the street, until they arrived at the outer wall of the court before the sacred tomb, where they found the gates shut, which, notwithstanding all the endeavours they used for that purpose, they found impossible to force.

Seeing this, they took possession of a house belonging to a person named Hajee Reza, which adjoined the outer wall of the tomb; in which having made a hole, they got into the area before the tomb itself, and here they put about thirty or forty persons to death, and first broke to pieces the rails of the sacred tomb, which front the door where they entered; they then broke to pieces the case of the tomb, which, in the time of Kerim Khan, was a work of seven years labour; and then broke the looking-glasses, each of which was two *guz* (7 feet) in length, and brought from India.

After this, the four little domes which had been the work of different Beglerbegees, and were ornamented with superb looking-glasses, were broken to pieces; and the walls, which were cased with plates of gold, ornamented with lapis lazuli, were entirely destroyed.

And they carried away the two treasuries, containing the legacies of different emperors and kings to the sacred tomb, and the gold and silver candlesticks, the embroidered curtains, and the carpets; but one treasury, which was rather higher than the rest, escaped their ravage; and most people imagine that the treasury which escaped is very inferior in point of value to that which has been plundered, but some are of a contrary opinion, and God only knows the truth.

Besides this, the gates, which were covered with plates of gold and silver, they broke to pieces, and the windows, whose sashes were gold, they carried away. They also on the terrace of

the tombs put to death about thirty or forty persons, together with the four treasurers.

Moreover they destroyed about one half of the great dome of the tomb, which was constructed with copper bricks, thickly covered with plates of gold, the donation of the present King of Persia, and carried them away. They massacred about four or five hundred persons in the apartments which compose the edifice of the tombs, the bodies of some of whom they burnt.

And in that part of the town which fell into their hands, which was more than two-thirds, they shewed no mercy, but put every body to death, stripping the women quite naked, plundering and carrying away whatever they found in the houses.

They also beat and tormented the women, to make them discover whatever was hid in their houses, and few of them escaped without wounds, so that more than two-thirds of the town were treated in this manner. The men and women slaves they carried away with them; and they employed themselves in this business from the morning to the ninth hour (evening) at which time they evacuated the place and returned to the desert; and the number killed much exceeds 3000 people,* but the greatest part were killed in their houses, therefore the exact number cannot easily be come at.

True translation and copy. HARFORD JONES.

I find a detailed account of the plunder given in a note to M. Mengin's book, by M. Jomard,—on what authority I know not. I was British Resident at the Paçha's court at the time, and could not procure any such account which I could depend on.

" On trouva placés au tour du tombeau vingt sabres montés en " or et garnis de pierreries.

" Une perle de la grosseur d'un œuf de pigeon, était suspendue " devant le tombeau; elle fut la propriété de Saouhoud, ainsi que " les armes.

" On prit des vases, des lampes, et d'autres objets d'or et d'argent " massif.

* It is since found, that by account taken, between 5 and 6,000 lost their lives in this terrible affair.

" On arrâcha les larmes d'or incrustées dans les murs et au mi-
" lieu des boiseries.

" Il y avait des tapis de Perse d'un riche tissu.

" Cinq cents plaques de cuivre, couvertes de feuilles d'or, étaient
" disposées pour revêtir l'extérieur du dôme.

" Les dépouilles arrachées des magasins et de l'intérieur des
" maisons, furent immenses.

" On enleva plus de quatre milles chals de Cachemire, des étoffes
" de l'Inde, deux milles sabres, deux milles cinq cents fusils.

" Des esclaves noires, et Abyssiniennes.

" Environ 6000 quadruples d'Espagne.

" 350,000 sequins de Vénise.

" 400,000 ducats d'Hollande.

" 160,000 sequins de Constantinople.

" 60,000 tomans.

" 250,000 talaris et piastres d'Espagne.

" 4,000 roupies, (roubychs).

" Des perles, des rubis, des émeraudes, de diamans, et autres
" objets d'or et d'argent.

" Tel est le compte approximatif qui fut fait aux puits de Akai-
" zer, à une journée de Kerbelé, où Souhoud s'arrêta pour visiter
" les immenses dépouilles enlevées par ses soldats."

M. Jomard, in a note, adds: " Ces renseignments m'ont été
" fournis par une personne qui se trouvait auprès de Souhoud."

NOTE X.

" *The decease of Suleiman Paçha.*"—Page 29.

About seven days before Suleiman Paçha expired, it was pretty generally known throughout the city that his recovery could not take place but by miracle. He was attended by M. Outrey, a French surgeon, long settled at Bagdad, in whom the Paçha had placed a considerable degree of confidence, and latterly also by several Persians, who professed the art of healing, and whose science extended little farther than the virtue and effects of herbs and simples. There had been, however, at the Paçha's desire, an application, made by me, to the Government of Bombay, for a

medical gentleman to attend upon him; one was accordingly sent—but after the first few days, whether the Paçha disliked his system of medicine, or whether Outrey's influence prevailed, the attendance of this gentleman at the Palace was seldom called for. About forty hours before the old man died, Mohammed Bey came to my house, told me the Paçha's illness was most serious, and that it was the wish of his family, the Kiah, and his Council,* that Dr. Short should proceed to the Palace to visit him. Now the real state of the Paçha's health had been, for some time past, as much as possible kept a secret from the public, nor could I draw anything from Mohammed Bey, farther than that he was very ill, so that I was rather anxious the Doctor should see the Paçha, as thereby I should become acquainted with the real state of his case. The Doctor, however, thought he had not been treated by the Paçha with proper respect, and that his credit and dignity would be compromised in now attending him; and finding argument and persuasion could not get the better of the Doctor's feelings, I was at last compelled to put his going to the Palace on a *political footing*; and telling him I should hold him answerable for the consequences, if he refused to execute my wishes. When he returned from the Palace I learnt from him it was utterly impossible that the Paçha could survive twenty-four hours.

The person who then filled the important office of Janissary Aga at Bagdad, was a man of great ability, extremely ambitious, and for his affability and mildness very much beloved by the inhabitants. The police of the city, which is under his care, had never been known to be better, or more efficiently conducted. Another Turkish gentleman, high in office (Mohammed Sayed Effendi) and himself, had taken it into their heads that the discovery of the Philosopher's stone was not only possible, but that they were on the very verge of making it. Mohammed Sayed had hurt his fortune considerably by this whim, and the Janissary Aga had beggared himself; but still they kept on:—the Janissary Aga finding, as well as he could, the means of prosecuting the experiments, and the other the place of secrecy in which they were made. The Aga, however, was a person greatly respected at

* Mushsaheb.

Constantinople, and the Porte had full confidence, that through his means, whenever Suleiman Paçha died, they should receive the lion's share of his treasure; and that he would prevent it being dissipated amongst the Georgians, forming the Paçha's household—the Aga, on the other hand thought, that by means of this treasure, and by the esteem and respect which the inhabitants generally, of Bagdad, professed to feel for him, he might be able to prevail on the Porte to grant him the investiture of the Paçhalik on the old man's decease.

Nearly as soon as the report of the Paçha's being seriously ill became credited in the city, the Aga desired to have a conference with me in one of the gardens to the southward of it; and in the conference, he not only disclosed to me the ambitious views he entertained, but asked me to assist him in their realization, by writing in his favor to the British Ambassador at the Porte. This I declined to do. I said to him—"You are, by your office, and "the constitution of the Empire, the officer whose duty it is, not "only to take charge, for the Porte, of the Paçha's treasures "when he dies, but also to assume the government during the "interregnum of the Paçha's decease, and the appointment of his "successor. Now, when you have fully established yourself in "these great trusts, it appears to me it will be then time enough "for you to apply to the Porte for a Firman for the Paçhalik—if "you obtain possession of the *Paçha's treasures*, I think you may "consider yourself pretty certain *to obtain his place*—but if you "fail in this, my advice to you is, to go with the stream, for de-"pend on it, though the Janissaries and some of the inhabitants "will support you at first, they will desert you when the money "comes into play, and you will pay the forfeit of your ambition."

Early in the morning on which the Paçha died, the Aga sent for my linguist, and returned him with a message to me, that the Paçha could not live two hours longer,—that he could only obtain possession of the Palace by storm,—and that probably about the *Namez-ez-zour* (the mid-day prayer,) I should hear the first gun fired. The house in which I lived at Bagdad had a *gazebo* over the street, under which the Janissary (to go direct from his house to the Palace) must pass. A little after ten o'clock, the Janis-

sary Aga, at the head of the completest rabble I ever saw, all with naked sabres, and using the most furious gesticulations, passed under the gazebo to occupy the citadel. The Aga alone was on horseback, and immediately about him there were from twenty to thirty Ojaklees, or men of rank and influence amongst the Janissaries. The whole cortège might be from one thousand to one thousand five hundred persons. The Aga spoke to me as he passed, and said,* "Beg, do not be alarmed, all parties will respect "you." I answered, "I am obliged to you, but you are all bound "to do so."

The Aga, early in the morning, had sent 500 Janissaries to seize Mohammed Bey, the great Arab, who was the agent at the Paçha's court for the Shaiks of all the tribes tributary to the Paçhalik, and who resided in a large house in the suburbs, on the western side of the Tigris. It was found, however, the Bey had not returned from the palace the night before, and this was the first untoward circumstance which befel the Aga. The first gun, as the Aga had told me, was fired just as the call to the prayer of noon was made. The gun itself stood without a carriage on the floor, or parapet, of one of the *solid towers* in the citadel, the ascent to which was by means of an inclined plane. When the gun was fired, the recoil was so great as to force it down the inclined plane

* My situation was not altogether free from anxiety. At the instance of Suleiman Paçha I had procured for him a large quantity of musquets and bayonets, and shell, from the Government at Bombay. At the time Suleiman Paçha died, the boats on which these stores had been laden at Bussora, had reached a little above the ruins of Ctesiphon, about twelve or fifteen miles below Bagdad. The instant, therefore, Doctor Short returned to me from the Palace, and told me of the perilous situation of the Paçha, I dispatched an order to the commander of the boats to anchor in the stream, at a small distance from the bank of the river where he was, and not to move from thence without my written orders. Both the Kiah and the Janissary Aga applied to me for the delivery, to them, of these military stores, which I civilly told them was impossible. The applications were renewed, the same answer repeated; but in consequence of some expressions reported to me, I was induced to add to both applicants,—that I should send down to the commanders of the boats the national colours, with orders to hoist them at the mast heads, and that, therefore, any attempt to remove these stores, (which were yet unpaid for) without my orders, would be treated by me as a national affair, and as such represented to the Government in India, and the King's Ambassador at the Porte. I dispatched two of my Sepoy guards in charge of the colours, and they were regularly hoisted till the stores were ultimately delivered to Ally Paçha, after he had received from the Porte his appointment to the Paçhalik.

to the court below, from whence, with immense labour, it was trailed up again to be recharged. The calibre of this gun was prodigious, the ball it threw was of marble, and the report, when fired, astonishing. My house, which stood at some distance from the citadel, every time this gun was fired, was shaken to the foundations, and when the balls fell in the Tigris, which most of them did, such of us as were not in rooms might, at that time, distinctly hear the splash the ball made when it reached the water.

The firing of this gun was the signal of general alarm and confusion throughout the city,—the bazars were broken up, all business put a stop to, and every one retired to his house, and fastened his doors. The mortars soon began to play from the citadel, but they were so ill managed, that throughout this noisy squabble the greater part of the shells fell in the Tigris, or in the empty streets, and caused but little mischief. Of all those aimed at the palace only one took effect; this burst through the roof of the Harem, descended through the upper apartments, and lodged in the Serdaub, or summer vault, in the very middle of a circle formed by the ladies and children of the late Paçha. Fortunately for them, the fuze kept burning for some time, and they had presence of mind enough to make good use of it, by hastening to another chamber, and so escaped destruction. I believe the only other shell which struck an inhabited building, was one that struck a house in which a party of Armenians were assembled, in the Sordaub, at cards. This shell exploded between the ceiling and the floor of the chamber immediately over their heads, and so did no harm to the party. Now as cards and drinking arrack are synonimous terms amongst the Armenians in Turkey, these jolly fellows took the explosion of the shell for a thunder clap, and were not aware of the danger they had been in till the next day.

Although the Janissary Aga failed to make any serious impression on the palace, yet for eight or nine days he kept his ground tolerably well; but then, as I had foretold him, the money began to work; and the work of desertion began and proceeded most rapidly amongst his friends and supporters. He then attempted to set up one of the other Georgian slaves of the late Paçha, in opposition to Ally Kiah, but this failed; he quitted the citadel, retired to his

OF THE ASIATIC SOC

house, then there he was immediately besieged, taken prisoner, and carried before Ally Kiah, where he was instantly put to death, by wounds from as many of the surrounding Georgians as could reach him with their daggers; and so eager were they in this bloody business, that many of them received wounds from their companions, in endeavouring to gratify their revenge by wounding the Aga. Fourteen of the principle Ojâklees were seized on the same day that the citadel was abandoned, and, at midnight, all these Ojâklees were strangled. A Janissary is always put to death at night, and by the application of the bow-string, or cord; and at the moment the victim receives this round his neck, a cannon is fired, to announce the fact to his brethren in the city. In this instance, the first of these melancholy messengers was fired at midnight, and each succeeding five minutes the dreadful tidings were repeated.

> " There have I made my promise to call on him,
> " Upon the heavy middle of the night."

To be awoke from sleep by such a proclamation, that the direful promise is performed, gave the report of each cannon a deeper and more awful sound, and made an impression on me which is not yet worn out.

The fighting and confusion in the city, from beginning to end, lasted between a fortnight and three weeks; the expense of powder, balls, and shells, was enormous, from all which, the list of killed and wounded did not amount to more than five; but, to make up for it, when Ally Kiah became completely triumphant, the bow-string and the gallows had their full share of victims. The greatest danger, generally speaking, which the inhabitants of Bagdad were exposed to, was at night, at which time the principal firing of musquetry took place. From the heat of the weather, it was impossible to sleep in a room, or under cover, and everybody, therefore, slept on the terraces of their houses, on which the spent balls often fell so thick as to be anything but pleasant. The centinel who was on guard at the end of my terrace, was struck with one, which gave him a most severe bruise, and, in the course of these magnanimous battles, they often fell on my bed, with a force sufficient, if they had happened to fall on the head, to have produced very unpleasant, if not very serious consequences. It was easy,

after the party of the Janissary Aga were put down, to procure the signatures of the principal inhabitants of Bagdad, to a petition to the Porte, for the appointment of Ally to succeed his late master, and I can say that the sum of money sent to strengthen this petition (for the whole of it went through mine and the Jew Abdullah's hands) did not quite reach sixty thousand pounds, and this was all the Porte got of Suleiman Paçha's treasure, except some pieces of jewellery, shawls, furs, house furniture, and rich India goods. It is true there had been large drafts made on it by the expences of the expeditions against the Wahaubys, the remittances to the Grand Vizier in Egypt, and by the hush-money to the Porte and Persia, on the capture of Kerbela; but, notwithstanding all these, there were still very pretty things left for the principal Georgian slaves to scramble for; and Assad Beg, the old Paçha's son, about thirteen years old, certainly did not get the lion's share of his father's property.

NOTE XI.

"*Pilgrimage for the last time.*"—Page 32.

THE MAHHMIL.

"Le Surré-Eminy, et les deux Muzdedjys traversent le canal "sur une galère, avec les mulets chargés du trésor, pour se rendre "sur la côte d'Asie à Scutary. Mais les chameaux sont dépouillés "de leurs ornemens sur le quai même, par des officiers du Kislar-"Aghassy, qui les rapportent le même jour au sérail, sans aucune "cérémonie. On ne les pare avec cette magnificence qu'en mé-"moire du chameau qui portait le Mahhfil ou siège du Prophète, "dans ses voyages, comme dans ses expéditions guerrières. C'était "une espèce de trône où il se plaçait pour rendre la justice aux "peuples. On suppose même que ces chameaux sont de la race "de celui que montait ordinairement Mohammed. C'est par cette "raison qu'on les appelle indistinctement Mahhfil et Mahhmil; le "premier mot signifiant siège, le second une bête de somme ou de "monture. La présentation du second chameau n'a d'autre objet "que de remplacer le premier en cas d'accident. On ne les con-"duit jamais à la Mecque, de peur qu'ils ne succombent aux "fatigues dans un aussi long voyage. On les conserve soigneuse

" ment au sérail, où leur race est censée se perpétuer sans mélange,
" et d'une manière pour ainsi dire miraculeuse. Ils sont cependant
" remplacés à la Mecque par deux autres que l'on croit également
" descendre de celui que montait le Prophète. L'un est gardé en
" Syrie par le Paçha de Damas, qui le conduit tous les ans à la
" Mecque, avec la caravane des pélerins qui partent de cette con-
" trée pour l'Arabie. Ces deux chameaux, décorés comme ceux
" de la capitale, sont menés aux différentes stations que font les
" pélerins encore hors de la ville l'avant veille et la veille du Beyram,
" surtout à celle du mont Arafath, comme on le verra plus bas."—
D'Ohsson, Tab. Gen. Ed. fol. p. 84.

The Surri Ameen Agassi, regularly each year leaves Constantinople for Mecca, on the 12th of the moon of *Rejeb*,—which, in consequence of this, is made a sort of religious holiday. A procession is made to the palace, in which the Mahhmils are paraded before the Grand Seignor, and the Surri Ameen Agassi receives his dispatches and orders. The procession afterwards passes through the principal streets of Constantinople.

NOTE XII.

" *Little Sylph's Crew.*"—Page 37.

CAPTURE OF THE SYLPH,—FROM MR. SHERIDAN'S JOURNAL.

November 26, 1808. Arrived the Minerva, merchant ship, from Bombay, she left Muscat eighteen days ago. In her came as passengers, Conyers, who had command of the Sylph at that place, and Mohammed Hossein, Sir Harford's Persian secretary, who was passenger on board her. The account which the latter gives of the misfortune which befell the Sylph, is as follows:—That Graham (who had the command of the Sylph) did not expect the Dows were going to attack him, being totally unprepared; so much so, that he only fired one gun. La Nereide had seen the two Dows, but on Corbet being told by Conyers, that the Sylph was fully able to beat them off, she proceeded on her course. On the pirates coming along side the Sylph, they poured in an immense quantity of stones, which drove the people below, and they then took possession of the Sylph. Mohammed Hossein Khan hid himself

below, in the same hole with Graham, the commander; from whence he heard the Wahaubys murdering their prisoners in cold blood;—the method they took was to order a man to the gangway, where they cut his throat, and then thanked God for their victory;—they then ordered another, till every one who had remained on deck was dispatched. Mohammed Hossein Khan then heard them calling for lights, to search the hold. At this critical moment a shot from La Nereide passed through the Sylph; luckily the commander of La Nereide heard the one shot fired by the Sylph, and immediately tacked to her assistance. The Wahaubys now got on board their Dows, and said they would go and take the man-of-war, which they said they would have done before, but that they thought the man-of-war* would give them the most trouble, and therefore they preferred taking the Sylph first. Every one, therefore, of the pirates, quitted the Sylph, and Mohammed Hossein Khan came on deck, where he saw the Dows, which Corbet suffered to come quite close to him, begin the attack by throwing stones into La Nereide. Immediately after, he heard a tremendous roar of cannon, and both Dows disappeared. Every soul on board them was destroyed, except nine, who had sense enough to get into their boat before coming alongside La Nereide. The crews of the Dows consisted of three hundred men each.

The reader will perceive this account differs little from the one have given in the text of the work, except in the dreadful chastisement the Wahaubys received from my brave and gallant friend.

NOTE XIII.

"*The murder of the Mameluke Beys by the Grand Admiral Hassan Paçha.*"—Page 45.

"From the commencement of the war in Egypt, the Porte had formed a secret resolution to change the government of that country; at the same time, the Grand Vizier, and the Captain Bashaw, held out to the Beys and the Mamelukes the most unequivocal assurances that their authority would be immediately restored on the destruction of the infidels. On the expulsion of the French from Egypt, accordingly, seven of the Beys were invited to Alexandria, to hold

* Instead of man-of-war, it should be Bengal merchant ship.

a conference with the Captain Bashaw, on the subject of certain arrangements necessary to be made for their re-establishment. They were received on their arrival with every demonstration of hospitality and respect. On pretence of a wish that they might accompany him in a visit of ceremony to the British commander, at Alexandria, but in reality with a view to send them to Constantinople, he treacherously engaged them to go on board a ship of war, whither he himself was to accompany them. But after they had gone into the boats that were to carry them to the ship, they began to recollect the repeated advices and warnings that had been given them by General Hutchinson, never to trust themselves on board any Turkish vessels, and to apprehend some violence after they should be lodged in the frigate. They required of the officers who had charge of them to reconduct them to the shore. The officers, pleading the orders of the High Admiral, refused to comply with their request. The Beys, grasping their arms, began to use force: a conflict ensued, in which four of the Beys were killed, and three wounded. Several of the boatmen shared the same fate. The Grand Vizier too, at the same time, attempted to secure as many of the Beys as he could, by force or fraud: some fell into his hands, others made their escape to Upper Egypt.

General Hutchinson, apprised of all this, ordered his troops under arms; remonstrated severely with both the Grand Vizier and the Captain Bashaw, and reclaimed, in a menacing tone, the wounded Beys, and the bodies of the slain, for honorable sepulture; and the Beys also who were in the power of the Grand Vizier. The Captain Bashaw imputed the disasters that had befallen the seven Beys, whom he had invited to his residence, to themselves, whose suspicions he said were without foundation; and excused his own conduct from the orders that had been sent both to himself and the Grand Vizier from the Porte, which was well assured, that it was never the intention of the Court of London to take any part in the internal regulations or government of Egypt; but after the expulsion of the French, to leave the Ottomans established there what form of government they should think proper. The Captain Bashaw carried his head very high, and maintained great pomp and splendour, such as he deemed suitable to the sovereign dignity of

the Porte. He affected to treat General Hutchinson in some sort as the guest of the Grand Seignor, in sending him regularly a second course, consisting of all the delicacies that could be provided for his table. Thus, he artfully combined an air of hospitality with an air of superiority and supremacy in Egypt. There were not a few who said the General should have declined to accept the hospitality of the Turkish High Admiral—assumed greater state himself—and, in a word, a tone of mastery and controul for a time, in a province recovered almost solely from the French by the British arms. They were even of opinion, that it would have been as wise as magnanimous, to have punished the treachery of the Captain Bashaw, and avenged the death of the three Beys, by hanging him up at the yard-arm of the frigate, on board which he meant to decoy them. So great an act of justice would have struck the East with an admiration and awe of the British name, and exalted it above every other in the world.

There were, however, other considerations that weighed down the opposite scale in the balance. Had it been the purpose of our government to retain possession of any port or ports in Egypt, such a measure might, perhaps, have been accounted not less eligible than daring. But it was not the design of Britain to do anything that might offend and alienate,—but, on the contrary, to cultivate, the favor of her Turkish *ally*.

General Hutchinson did not embrace a line of conduct that would probably have been condemned by his court as extravagant and imprudent;* nor did he tamely and meanly acquiesce in a measure dictated by barbarian perfidy. But steering a middle course, he demanded with inflexible firmness the freedom of the Beys, which was granted.

There could not have been a fitter agent in this business than General Stewart, who at the head of a strong detachment carried the remonstrances and demands of the British commander in chief to the Captain Bashaw.

But the Beys, though left at their own disposal, foresaw the evacuation of Egypt by the English and the establishment of the

* And if so most rightly and justly.

power of the Turks, at least in the lower regions of that country. Their faithful Mamelukes were either dispersed, or had fallen by the sword. They listened therefore to the fair promises that were made them by the Captain Bashaw and Grand Vizier,—and solemnly confirmed by their oaths on the Koran,—of protection, favor and preferment, if they would throw themselves into the arms of the Sultan. They signified this consent in writing to the Grand Seignor, and also to General Hutchinson. The Porte extended to Egypt the system of Government by Bashaws."—*Annual Reg.* 1801, *Hist. Europe, p.* 241.

I shall now give a French version of this unfortunate business. " Dans cet état de choses, il était bien difficile que des intérêts " si opposés pussent être réconciliés. La politique du cabinet " de Saint James n'était par celle du Divan. Les généraux en " chef des deux armées avaient des instructions contraires, et telle " fut la première cause des révolutions dont l'Égypte devint le " théâtre.

" La Porte voulait détruire la puissance des mamlouks en " exilant de l'Égypte les principaux chefs, et pour parvenir à ce " but, il avait été convenu avec l'ambassadeur Anglais qu'elle leur " céderait des apanages dans ses provinces d'Europe.

" Le Grand Vizir et le Capitan-Paçha, qui avaient des ordres " secret, cherchaient par de sourdes menées les moyens de mettre " à exécution le projet de leur gouvernement; projet dont il avait " reçu la communication officielle, et qui avait été approuvé par " le Lord Elgin, Ambassadeur à Constantinople.

" Cependant, les principaux Beys de la Maison de Mourad, tels " qu'Osman Bey Tambourgy, Osman Bey Bardissey, Mourad " Bey Soghâyr, et plusieurs autres, avaient reçu du Capitan-Pacha " l'invitation de se rendre auprès de lui. Ils tinrent conseil entre " eux sur le parti qu'ils avaient à prendre, mais les avis étaient " partagés, et le temps s'écoulait sans qu'ils s'arrêtassent à aucun " parti. On finit pourtant par se déterminer à répondre à cette " insigne faveur. Plusieurs de ces Beys aimaient à croire que " l'amirai voulait donner aux Mamlouks de Mourad le gouverne- " ment du Kaire, afin de l'enlever à la maison d'Ibrahim Bey, " qui n'avait point quitté les tentes du Grand Vizir. Ils se rendir-

" ent donc au camp d'Aboukyr, où le Capitan-Paçha les reçût avec
" toutes sortes de marques d'honneur et de distinction. Leurs
" tentes furent placées dans la demi-lune qui formait le campe-
" ment de ses troupes. Les premiers jours se passèrent en visites
" de cérémonie, et il ne fut nullement question des motifs du
" voyage. Chaque jour on montait à cheval, pour faire des pro-
" menades militaires, et déjà plus d'un mois s'était écoulé sans que
" le Capitan-Paçha leur eût encore rien fait entrevoir sur ses dis-
" positions à leur égard. Ce long silence leur donnait des inquié-
" tudes. Ils s'en plaignirent au Général Hutchinson, qui les
" rassura sur les bonnes intentions de la Porte en leur faveur, mais
" cette déclaration ne fit pas cesser leurs craintes, et leurs méfiances
" s'augmentait à chaque instant. Plusieurs d'entre eux eurent
" l'intention de quitter le camp sans prendre congé du Paçha, et
" revenir au Kaire.

" Enfin lorsque le Général Hutchinson rappelé en Angleterre
" allait céder le commandement de l'armée anglaise au Lord
" Cavan, le Capitan-Paçha et les Beys furent invités de se rendre
" à l'Alexandrie pour assister à la cérémonie qui devait avoir lieu
" à cette occasion.

" Le matin du jour indiqué, le Capitan-Paçha invita les Beys
" à venir déjeûner dans sa tente, avant de s'embarquer pour le
" rendez-vous. Après le repas, on entra dans les canots qui
" attendaient au rivage. Le Paçha monta dans le sien avec les
" Beys, et quelques uns de leurs Mamlouks. Les autres embar-
" cations servirent à des officiers de sa suite.

" A une certaine distance en mer, le Capitan-Paçha apperçut
" un esquif qui venait a lui: ' voilà sans doute des dépêches qui
" m'arrivent de Constantinople,' dit-il aux Beys; en effet, le
" bâtiment s'étant approché, on lui remit un long pli qu'il dé-
" cacheta en passant à bord de l'esquif, s'excusant auprès de ses
" hôtes sur la nécessité de prendre de suite connaissances des dé-
" pêches qui lui étaient adressées.

" Les canots continuaient à voguer, l'esquif les suivait à une
" grande distance, quand tout à coup, à leur entrée dans le lac
" d'Aboukyr, les Beys virent en avant d'eux trois grandes cha-
" loupes remplies de soldats bien armés. Ils s'apperçurent alors

" qu'ils étaient trahis, et se préparent à la défense. L'un d'eux " Mohammed Bey Manfoukh, mit le premier sabre à main, et " dans le même moment les chaloupes firent feu à bout portant. " Ecrasés par les balles, ces hommes courageux se battirent comme " des lions contre les soldats qui montaient de tous côtes à l'abord- " age. Dans une lutte aussi inégale, la valeur ne pouvait rien " contre le nombre. Osman Bey Tambourgy, Mourad Bey, Osman " Bey el Achbar, et Ibrahim Kiaya Sennary, furent tués, avec " plusieurs Mamlouks. Osman Bey Bardissy, et Ibrahim Bey " Husseyn, reçurent des blessures graves. Ceux qui échappèrent " au massacre furent pris et transportés aves les blessés à bord " du vaisseau du rivale capitan,* où ils réçurent les secours qu' " exigeait leur état. Quand on eut pansé leur blessures, on leur " fit jurer sur le Coran qu'ils ne demandaient point être rendu aux " Anglais, et qu'il resteraient avec les Turcs. Ceux-ci promettaient " de leur côté, plus d'égards et déférence, en protestant que la " malheureuse affaire qui venait de se passer, avait été la suite " d'une malentendu.

" A la première nouvelle de cette catastrophe le général Hutch- " inson dépêcha le général Stuart au capitan-Pacha pour lui re- " procher l'indignité de sa conduite. En même temps l'armée " anglaise sortit de son camp, et vint former devant les Turcs " deux bataillons carrés, qui restèrent sous les armes jusqu'à ce " qu'on eut obtenu une juste satisfaction.

" Le Capitan-Pacha ceda aux premiers effets du ressentiment " des Anglais. Il fit débarquer les prisonniers et les blessés, qui " furent transportés à Alexandrie. L'armée britannique rendit " aux morts les honneurs de la sépulture. Dans ces conjonctures " le capitan-Paçha jugea prudent d'envoyer Isag Bey, son interprète " et son confident, près du général Hutchinson, pour tacher de le " calmer. A la suite d'une conversation fort animée, le général " lui dit, vivement :—' Votre maître est une perfide.'—' Vous " n'ignorez pas,' lui repondit le Bey, avec calme, ' la décision de la " sublime Porte relativement à l'état futur des Mamlouks.'

" Dans le même temps le vizir faisait arrêter Ibrahym Bey, et " tous les Beys qui se trouvaient au Kaire. Il envoyait Taher

* Vice-amiral.

" Paçha, l'Albanais dans la haute-Egypte pour faire main-basse " sur Mohammed Bey Elfy. Mais les généreux Anglais interpo- " sèrent bientôt leur puissante influence, et le Grand-Vizir, séduit " par les promesses ou intimidé par les menaces, fit remettre en " liberté ses prisonniers."

On these different statements I shall leave the reader to make his own reflections.

NOTE XIV.

" *The whole of them to be massacred in the castle of Cairo.*"—Page 46.

Just as all seemed ripe for this campaign, it was found necessary to take prompt measures of security against those pardoned Mamelukes resident within the city, for it was ascertained that they had already began caballing, and only waited for the marching of the army, or the absence of the Paçha himself, to throw all into confusion, and overturn his Government; who being informed of the plot, and seeing at once the critical nature and extreme hazard of his situation, resolved on striking a decisive blow, and prepared his counter-mine accordingly, by which the whole race that gave him alarm, was to be exterminated in one day.

It is not known that he consulted previously upon this matter with any other besides the Albanian chief, Hassan Paçha, the most confidential of all his advisers.

Dissembling, therefore, all suspicion on his part, and at the same time shunning every thing that might excite it on the part of the Mamelukes, he invited their chief, Saim Bey,* to an audience, and led him into familiar conversation, opening to him, first, his own views on this holy war, and inviting him to join in it.

The Bey had always passed for a man of craft and penetration, but he was overreached in this instance; for, acceding at once, and seeming flattered at the proposal, he entered freely afterwards into many details, and enumerated those whom he considered to be more or less under his disposal and influence, and speaking in so high and confident a tone of the attachment and union of his followers, as to leave no doubt at all of his ambitious views on the

* The Bey's real name was Shaheen.

mind of Mohamet Ali, who, therefore, proceeding in his scheme, as concerted with Hassan Paçha, concluded the interview by inviting him, with all his adherents capable of bearing arms, to present themselves at the citadel on the following Friday, in order that arrangements might be made as to the part which this important body should bear in the campaign.

On his return from the audience, the Bey communicated the whole substance of what had passed to such of the Mamelukes as were most in his confidence, one of whom, who had more discernment than the rest, cried out immediately :—" We are betrayed!' —" So much the worse," replied Saim, " if it be so," and rebuking him with a look, added :—" if there be danger we shall not want courage to meet it." Then calling together the principal as well as the inferior officers, over whom he presided, he recommended them that they should all accompany him to the citadel, at a certain hour of the forenoon on the day appointed.

In the mean while the Paçha was not idle in concerting measures for receiving them.

Before dawn, upon the Friday mentioned, (March 1, 1811) the drums were beating through the city, to call the troops together, as for some grand parade, few, if any of us, had received any intimation of this beforehand, so that all hurried from their quarters to know what it meant, and were marched off to the citadel as they arrived, and stationed there.

No specific instructions were given, but each man was strictly ordered after his arms had been examined, on no account to quit the post assigned to him, and to wait there further orders.

The hour of audience was at hand, and a procession of about five hundred Mameluke officers of higher or lower degrees, presented themselves at the gate of the citadel, and went in; they made rather a splendid shew, and were led by three of their generals, among whom Saim Bey was conspicuous; when entered, they proceeded immediately to the palace, which occupies the highest ground; and as soon as their arrival there was announced to Mohamet Ali, and Hassan Paçha, who were sitting in conference together within, an immediate order was given for the introduction

of the three chiefs, who were received with great affability, both Paçhas entering into a great deal of conversation with them, and many compliments and civilities passed.

After a time, according to Eastern custom, coffee was brought, and last of all, pipes; but at this moment, when these were presented, as if from etiquette, or to leave his guests more at their ease, Mohamet Ali arose, and withdrew, and sending privately for the captain of his guard, gave orders that the gates of the citadel should be closed; that as soon as Saim Bey and his two associates should come out for the purpose of mounting, they should be fired upon till they dropped, and that at the same signal, the troops posted throughout the fortress should take aim at every Mamcluke within their reach, while a corresponding order was sent down at the same time to those in the town, to such even as were encamped without, round the foot of the fortress, to pursue the work of extermination on all stragglers they should find, so that not one of the proscribed body might escape.

Saim Bey, and his two brothers in command, finding the Paçha did not return to them, and being informed, by the attendants, that he was gone into his Harem (an answer that precluded all farther inquiry) judged it to be time to take their departure. But no sooner did they make their appearance, and were mounting their horses, than they were suddenly fired upon from every quarter, and all became, at once, a scene of confusion, and dismay, and horror; similar volleys being directed at all the rest who were collected round, and preparing to return with them, so that the victims dropped by hundreds.

Saim Bey, himself, had time to gain his saddle, and even to penetrate to one of the gates of the citadel, but all to no purpose, for he found it closed, like the rest, and fell there, pierced with innumerable bullets.

Another chief, Amin Bey, brother to Elfi, urged the noble animal which he rode to an act of greater desperation,—for he spurred him till he made him clamber upon the rampart, and preferring rather to be dashed to pieces, than to be slaughtered in cold blood, drove him to leap down the precipice, a height that has been esti-

mated from thirty to forty feet, or even more; yet, fortune so favoured him, that though the horse was killed in the fall, the rider escaped.

An Albanian camp was below, and an officer's tent very near the spot where he alighted; instead of shunning, he went in, and throwing himself on the rights of hospitality, implored that no advantage might be taken of him, which was not only granted, but the officer afforded him protection, even at his own peril, and kept him concealed so long as the popular fury and the excesses of the soldiery continued.

Of the rest of that devoted number thus shut in and surrounded, not one went out alive; and even of those who had quietly remained at home, but very few found means to elude the active and greedy search that was made after them, a high price being set upon every Mameluke's head that should be brought.

Such is Giovanni Finati's account of this tragedy; I shall now, as I have done before, give the French version of it from M. Mengin.

"Le 1er. Mars, 1811. Tous à la citadelle, Châhyn Bey y parut "à la tête de sa maison. Il vint avec les autres Beys présenter ses "devoirs au Vice-roi, qui les attendait dans sa grande salle de récep- "tion. Il leur fit servir le café, et s'entretint avec eux. Lorsque "tout le cortège fut rassemblé, on donna le signal du départ, "chacun prit le rang que lui avait assigné le maître des cérémo- "nies: un corps de dehlys commandé par Quzoun Aly ouvrait la "marche; venaient ensuite l'oualy l'ayher des Janissaires, et celui "de subsistances, les odjaglys, les yoldaches, puis Sâleh-Koch avec "ses Albanais, et ensuite les mamlouks que guidait Solymân Bey "el-Baouâb; l'infanterie, la cavalerie, et les chefs de l'administration, "les suivaient. La tête de la colonne eut ordre de se diriger vers "la Porte-el-Azab, donnant sur la place de Roumeyleh. Le che- "min qui y conduit est taillé dans le roc, il est étroit, difficile et "escarpé: des angles saillans empêchent deux cavaliers de passer "de front dans certains endroits. Dès que les Dehlys et les aghâs "furent sortis, Sâleh-Koch fit fermer la porte, et communiqua à "sa troupe l'ordre du Vice-roi d'exterminer tous les mamlouks. Les "Albanais se retournèrent à l'instant, et gravirent le sommet des "roches qui dominent le chemin, pour se mettre à l'abri des at-

" teintes de leurs adversaires et les frapper plus s urement ; ils firent " feu sur eux.

" Ayant entendu les coups de fusil, les dernières troupes tirèrent " du haut des murailles où elles s'étaient mises à couvert. Les " mamlouks qui étaient arrivés à la première porte voulurent prendre " un autre chemin pour rétourner dans la citadelle, mais ne pouvant " manier leurs chevaux, à cause de la position difficile dans laquelle " ils étaient engagés, et voyant que beaucoup des leurs étaient déjà " tombés, morts ou blessés, ils mirent pied à terre, abandonnèrent " leurs chevaux, et ôtèrent leurs premiers vêtements. Dans " cette situation désesperée, ils retournèrent sur leurs pas le " sabre à la main : personne ne se présentait devant eux, mais " on les fusillait de l'intérieur des maisons. Châhyn-Bey tomba " pereé de balles devant la porte du Palais de Saladin. Soly- " mân Bey-el-Baouâb, demi-nu, courut tout effrayé implorer la " protection du Harem du vice-roi ; ce fut en vain ; il fut conduit au " palais, où le Prince ordonna de lui trancher la tête. D'autres " allèrent demander grâce à Toussun Paçha, qui ne prit aucune " part à ce que se passait.

" Aussitôt les troupes eurent ordre d'arrêter partout les mam- " loukes ; ceux que l'on prenait étaient conduits devant le Kiâya- " Bey et décapites à l'instant même.

" Beaucoup d'individus étrangers à cette scène périrent malgré " leur innocence, tant le soldat était animé au carnage. Le cadavre " de Châhyn Bey fut trainé çà et là, la corde au cou. La citadelle " ressemblait à une arène ensanglantée, les morts mutilés encom- " brait les passages ; on voyait partout des chevaux richement har- " nachés, étendus à côté de leurs maîtres, des says* percés de balles, " des armes brisées, et des vêtemens couverts de sang : toutes ces " dépouilles devinrent la proie des soldats. On comptait le matin " quatre cents soixante-dix mamlouks à cheval ; nul d'entre eux n'é- " chappa au massacre.

" Amyn-Bey ne partagea pas la malheureuse destinée de ses " collègues. Il avait différé de se rendre à la cérémonie : retenu chez " lui pour quelque affaire pressante, il n'arriva près de la citadelle " que lorsque les dehlys commençaient à sortir de la Porte-eb- " Azab. Le passage de cette troupe ne lui permit point d'entrer,

* Palefreniers.

" il attendit qu'elle fût sortie, mais voyant que la porte se fermait " derrière eux, et ayant entendu presque aussitôt les coups de fusil, " il prit le gallop, et se sauva avec sa suite à Baçatyn, et de là il " gagna la Syrie, sous la protection d'un cheykh d'Arabes de la " province de Charkyeh.

" A peine le cortège avait-il commencé à défiler, que le Paçha " devint inquiet: ses mouvemens trahissaient son émotion. Lorsqu'il " entendit les premières décharges de mousqueterie, son agitation " redoubla : il pâlit, et craignait que ses ordres n'ayant pas été bien " exécutés, il ne s'ensuivit un combat que compromît le salut des " siens et sa propre existence. La vue des prisonniers et des têtes " fit cesser son inquiétude, mais elle ne rendit pas la sérénité à son " visage, et n'apaisa point le trouble intérieur dont il était déchiré. " Peu de tems après, le Gênois Mendrici,* un de ses médecins, entra " dans l'appartement où il se tenait; et s'approchant de sa personne, " il lui dit d'un air de gaieté ' l'affaire est finie; c'est un jour de fête " pour votre Altesse.' Le Prince ne répondit rien, mais son silence " était expressif; il demanda qu'on lui donnât à boire." *Mengin, Hist. de l'Egypte.* There can be no pleasure in reading, or in reciting, the atrocities, which a soldiery carried on to blood, were, some hours after this horrible massacre, allowed to commit in Cairo.

NOTE XV.

" *The capture of Yembo.*"—Page 49.

The place occupies a position of some natural strength, and being fortified after the old fashion (though, as it is said, at no remote period) with walls and towers, has rather the appearance of a castle than a town from the outside, the houses being very low. It has a recently erected battery towards the sea, which was under the direction of an engineer in the service of the Shereef of Mecca. The inhabitants and the garrison were not themselves regular Wahaubys; but partaking altogether of the same views and

* Mahomet Ali may say, perhaps, (how truly, I cannot pretend to judge) if I had not rid myself of the Beys, they would have ridded themselves of me; but what words are strong enough to express one's detestation of the sycophantic Gencese mountebank! all the vituperative appellations, and all the opprobrious epithets, in every language I am acquainted with, all, all, huddled together, would but feebly express my opinion of him!

interests, and implicated in the same cause, they shewed a determination to resist, and to keep their gates shut against us, after persuasion and fair means had been tried in vain with them at first.

It being, however, quite indispensible to the progress of the campaign, that we should be masters of this maritime post in the first place, as well as of its little port, our musters were no sooner complete, than it was regularly invested all round, the artillery playing briskly upon it from the land side, and a bomb vessel, built at Suez by Mahomet Ali, for the purpose of doing its utmost to reduce it on the other: but with all this activity we could not perceive that we were advancing towards our object, and our young Paçha became so exasperated by the obstinacy of the besieged, that he determined upon trying an assault.

His own personal energy and intrepidity of character had infused such spirit and emulation into the troops, that they waited only for the word, and shewed great impatience during the short delay requisite for the construction of scaling-ladders in sufficient numbers for mounting the walls.

On the other hand, those within were quite aware of this, and so well prepared to receive us, that, notwithstanding the impetuosity and determination of the attack, it may perhaps be fairly doubted whether it would have succeeded, had it not been combined with the disheartening and irreparable loss which happened to them at the moment, in the death of their chief engineer, killed by a cannon ball from the bombarding vessel; which rendering their battery useless, and leaving them exposed on that side, it became evident to them their little town could not long hold out; yet they formed their views rather to retreat than surrender. The walls, meantime, were very well defended, but all of the inhabitants not actually employed with the garrison in manning them, were collecting, and packing up, and carrying away everything that was precious and portable within, towards a small postern-gate, called the gate of Medina, from its opening in that direction.

The fortifications upon that side had never been scaled, and it was only towards night-fall that our soldiery began to gain any firm footing upon the other, upon which, all at once, as at some signal agreed upon amongst themselves, all the besieged fell back

precipitately in one direction, and got out of the gate which has been spoken of, cutting their way through the small number of assailants who happened to be posted thereabouts.

We thus became masters of almost an empty town, and though we soon found the enemy had left us but little of any value, yet according to the Turkish custom, all falling immediately to pillage,—the fugitives were not pursued."—*Giovanni Finati*, vol. I.

Yembo, it appears, depended for its supply of water on that which fell from the heavens, and was caught and preserved in cisterns; and this, though sufficient for the use of its own limited population, failed to afford a sufficient supply for the large Turkish force assembled there after its capture,—in so great a degree, that Giovanni Finati represents, "Water soon entirely failed us."

The Turks, therefore, found it necessary to undertake the laborious task of sinking wells to a great depth, in the execution of which they were greatly annoyed by the desultory attacks of the Wahaubys; to prevent this, they placed round the mouths of the wells a number of matt bags filled with sand, which being piled together, formed a kind of rampart impenetrable to the gun-shot of the enemy, and perfectly capable of defending those working behind it from being taken by surprise by cavalry.

NOTE XVI.

"*Fifty miles eastward of Mecca.*"—Page 30.

The reader may not be displeased at having the following note presented to him, It is from a book entitled "Ludovici Patritii Romani novum Itinerarium Æthiopiæ, &c.," and extremely rare. The copy I possess belonged to the late Lord Guilford, and has come into my hands at no very extravagant price, through the attention of Mr. James Bohn.

"De unicornibus Templi Mechæ: quos Monocerotas appellant: "qui fere alibi non visunter.

"Ab altera delubri parte septa visuntur sive claustra mavis "appellari, in his unicornis gemini asservantur: locoque miraculi "populo spectandos præbent. Nec ab re, Res est miratu dignissin

" sunt cui ejusmodi ut illico denarrabimus. Alterum eorum quem
" constat longe proceriorem esse: pullo equino triginta menses nato
" haud absimilem crediderim: prominet in fronte cornu unicum
" longitudine trium cubitorum: longe natu minor est alter: utpote
" anniculus ac equino pullo simillimus: ejus cornu quaterni palmi
" longitudinem haud excedit. Coloris est id animal equi mustel-
" lini, caput cervi instar: collo non oblongo: rarissimæque jube ab
" altera parte solum dependentis. Tibias habet tenues: easdemque
" graciles admodum trinuli mos: ungulas anteriorum pedum
" bifidas habet: caprinos pedes ferme referentes. Tibiarum poste-
" riorum pars exterior villosa est: pilique plurimi: sane id *aial*
" ferum videtur. Verum ferotiam nescio qua comitate condivit
" eos unicornes quidem Sultano Mechæ dono dedit ceu rem
" inventu rarissimam, rem donoque preciosiorem. Aducti sunt
" ex Æthiopiæ ab Æthiopum rege: ut eo munire necessitudinem
" conjunctissimi cum Sultano Mechæ præfecto iniret."

Varthema, or Barthema, was translated into English in the year 1576, by Richard Eden, which translation I find the well-known, and not more known than esteemed, Mr. Evans, bookseller, in Pall Mall, has inserted at the end of his republication of Hakluyt's Voyages—which I now also lay before the reader.

" *Of the Unicorns of the Temple of Mecca, which are not seen in any other place.*

" On the other part of the Temple are Parkes, or places en-
" closed, where are seen unicornes named of the Grecks, Mono-
" cerotæ, and are there shewed to the people for a Myracle, and not
" without good reason, for their seldomness and strange nature.
" The one of them is much higher than the other, yet not much
" unlike to a coolte of thyrtye months of age; in the forehead
" groweth only one horne, in manner right forth, of the length of
" three cubits. The other is much younger—of the age of one
" year, and like a young coolte: the horne of this is the length of
" four handfuls. The beast is of the color of a horse of weesell
" color, and hath a head like an hart, but no long neck, a thynne
" mane hanging onlye on one syde, theyr legges are thyn and
" slender like a fawne or hynde, the hoofs of the feete are divided

" in two, much like the feete of a goat, the outwarde of the hynder " feete is very full of heare. This beast doubtless seemeth wylde " and fierce, yet tempereth that fierceness with a certain comelie- " ness. These unicornes one gave to the Sultan of Mecca as a " most precious giffte. They were sent to him out of Ethiope by " a Kynge of that country, who desired, by that present, to gratifie " the Sultan of Mecha."

Notwithstanding all Barthema has said, the reader may be inclined to consider it only as "*a lie with circumstance*," and to exclaim with Hermia:—

——————" I'll believe as soon
" This whole earth may be bor'd, and that the Moon
" May through the centre creep, and so displease
" Her brother's noontide with the Antipodes."

The following lively tale is extracted from an extremely pleasing work, Captain Thomas Skinner's Excursions in India; which, if it does not bring forward much additional evidence in favor of these animals, certainly impeaches Barthema's assertion, " locoque miri- " culi populo spectandos præbent."

" As unicorns have been supposed, if they really do exist, to " have their habitations among these hills, either on the Indian " side, or on the opposite one, we could not be indifferent to the " circumstance, nor cold about the possibility of gaining a peep " at such an extraordinary phenomenon. Whenever we found " intelligent people, we questioned them minutely upon the " probability of such a piece, but nothing satisfactory were we " able to elicit from our enquiries. At length at this place " (Bunassa) we met a villager, whose replies to our cross-examina- " tion gave us so much hopes that we felt quite elated at the " prospect of beholding the long-looked for animal. 'A big " beast,' said he, 'quite mad with wickedness, comes very often " at night out of the woods, and rushing into the fields, tears " up the grain, and roars in such a manner that he makes us all " tremble.'—'Has he horns?' we both exclaimed—'a tremendous " one!' was the reply—'one only,'—'only one,' continued the " man, quite delighted with the interest we seemed to take in his

" narrative, and that ' O ! a terrible one,' stretching out his arms " to shew the length of it. ' He is sure to come into such a field " before midnight.' We resolved to watch for him, and engaged " our informant to keep us company.

" It was a fine rainy night, and the wind was howling through " the woods in a manner fearful enough to have tempted the " heroine of romance abroad. Before nine o'clock we were at our " posts, and planting ourselves beneath an overhanging crag of " great height and wildness, within sight of the destined arena, " and within sound of a mighty cataract, we sat with our guns by " our sides, and a couple of flasks to fortify us against cold and " the rain, like bandits waiting for their prey. It was just light " enough to give double size to every object, and the waiving of " the trees never failed to make us startle, while the crackling of " the branches that yielded to the storm threw us into the most " feverish excitement. ' How shall we secure the animal? or if " we kill him, how get him stuffed and bear his bones to England?' " were the questions we continually asked each other; then like " the milk-maid in the fable, revelled in the fields of fancy, till " quite lost in speculation upon the advantages that would attend " so glorious a discovery.

" Midnight at length arrived, and our patience was not ex- " hausted: still the wind and rain continued. At length, just a " little before day-light, we heard a heavy racing above us; for " the rock beneath which we were sitting, projected with an abut- " ment, as it were, to a wide terrace. We rose in agony almost " from expectation, and stood ready to confront the monster, that " through our endeavours was no longer to live in fable alone! It " was pitch dark, and blowing an hurricane; the underwood above " us was crackling before the pressure of some large animal, which " evidently approached us. With our eyes rivetted upon the brow " of the crag we had been sitting under, we stood with cocked " guns and beating hearts, when, ' Ho!' a loud cry from our " native companion, ' there he goes,' was followed by a heavy " sound, as of the spring of a horse, and most assuredly there he " went, without even giving us the gratification that the traveller

" received from the disappearance of the 'stout gentleman,' after " having, like him, passed a night of restless curiosity. The " hill-man had seen little more than ourselves, and could not say, " whether it were the very beast we were in wait for, or some " other less formidable and less desirable. I have no doubt myself " that it was one of the large elks, the mohr of these mountains, " of which we had already seen several."

Those who wish further information on this subject, may search for it in Pliny.

NOTE XVII.

" *The Wahaubys considered the smoking of Tobacco to be unlawful.*"—Page 112.

The Wahauby could scarcely have a worse opinion of tobacco than King James I, who concluded his Misocaprius with this sentence:—

" Tandem igitur, O cives, si quis pudor, rem infamam abjicite, " ortam ex ignominia, receptam errore, frequentatam stultitiâ: " unde, et ira numinis accenditus, corporis sanitas atteritur, res " familiaris arroditur, dignitas gentis senescit domi, vilescit foris: " rem visu turpem, olfactu insuavem, cerebro noxiam, pulmonibus " damnosam: et si dicere liceat atri fumi nebulis tartareos vapores " proxime repræsentantem." I find, however, the following praise of snuff in a book but little known, and, I believe, tolerably scarce —it is entitled, " Raptas Ecstaticus in Montem Parnassum in " eoque visus Satyrorum Lusus cum nasis tabaco prophoris sive " Satyricon novum Physico-medico-morale, Autore Joanne Hen- " rico Cohausen, Hilderio-Saxone. Amsterdam, 1726.

" Vos medici, nil vestra facit fœcundia linguæ,
" Naturæ motus linquite cuique suos;
" Hæc nisi petophiles ægris destructæ sit omnis,
" Absque cellis medicis est reditura salus.
" Si mihi cor dolet aut capût, inde facesse catinum
" Nicotiana mihi sola ministrat opem.
" Præscriptis dolus est. Nemo mea fata repellet.
" Naturæ motum prosequor ipse meæ.

NOTE XVIII.

" The small town of Bedr."—Page 51.

This place is famous for a battle between the Prophet and his opponents, of which the following is an account:—

" The sign or miracle here meant, was the victory gained by " Mohammed in the 2nd year of his hegira, (the 4th of March, " A.D. 634) over the idolatrous Meccans, headed by Abou Sofiân, " in the valley of Bedr, which is situate near the sea, between " Mecca and Medina. Mohammed's army consisted of no more " than 319, but the enemy's of near 1000; notwithstanding which " odds, he put them to flight, having killed 70 of the Koreish, and " taken as many prisoners, with the loss of only 14 of his own " men. This was the first victory obtained by the Prophet, and " though it may seem no very considerable action, yet it was of " great advantage, and the foundation of all his future power and " success. For which reason it is famous in Arabian History, " and more than once vaunted in the Koran as an effect of divine " assistance. The miracle, it is said, consisted of three things. " First, Mohammed, by the direction of the angel Gabriel, took " a handful of gravel, threw it towards the enemy in the attack, " saying, 'May their faces be confounded;' whereupon they im- " mediately turned their backs and fled. But though the Prophet " seemingly threw the gravel himself, yet he is told in the Koran " that it was not he, but God, who threw it; that is to say, by " the ministry of his Angel. Secondly, the Mohammedan troops " seemed to the infidels to be twice as many in number as them- " selves, which greatly discouraged them. And thirdly, God sent " down to their assistance 1000, and afterwards 3000 angels, " led by Gabriel, mounted on his horse, Haizum; and, according " to the Koran, these celestial auxiliaries did all the execution, " though Mohammed's men imagined they themselves did it, and " fought stoutly at the same time."—*See Sale's excellent and learned Notes to the Koran.*

This battle is the more remarkable, because, after it was over, bitter disputes took place about the division of the spoils; to end

which, Mohammed pretended to have received orders from Heaven, and those orders continue to this day a canon of the Mohammedan law, as to the division of spoil taken from an enemy in battle.

NOTE XIX.

" *Fut décapité sur la place de Sainte Sophie avec ses compagnons d'infortune.*"—Page 161.

The reader may, perhaps, be curious to learn what happened at Derayel after its surrender, and I therefore add the following account, extracted from M. Mengin.

" Cependant on était à Derayeh dans une grande consternation, " causée par la nouvelle de la mort d'Abdallah. Chacun craignait un sort pareil, et se recommandait à la divine providence. " La famille de ce Prince, trop confiant, était dans les larmes, car " le gouverneur l'avait prévenue qu'elle devait se tenir prête à partir " pour l'Égypte.

" La guerre, les suites du siège, et la disette dont souffraient les " habitans, produisirent une épidémie parmi eux. Les soldats, " fatigués par des privations de tout genre, furent eux-mêmes " attaqués. Le Pacha ordonna de faire diriger sur Médine une " partie de l'artillerie, ainsi que les enfans d'Abdallah, Saad, Nasr, " et Mohammed, et leurs oncles Omar et Abderrahman, frères de " Souhoud. On conduisit au Caire ces victimes infortunées. La " générosité que le Vice-roi déploya à leur égard, en leur accordant " à tous des pensions alimentaires, adoucit les regrets que leur " causèrent le souvenir de leur grandeur passée, et l'éloignement des " objets de leurs affections.

" Alors Ibrahym réunit les chefs des villes qui d'après ses ordres " étaient venus à Derayeh ; il leur enjoignit, dans un délai marqué, " de démolir les murs et les fortifications de leurs places, et les " rendit responsables de l'exécution de ses commandemens. Comme " ce Prince sentait chaque jour davantage la nécessité d'évacuer le " pays de Nedjd, il pressait l'arrivée des chameaux pour le départ " des troupes. Il fit briser les canons de fer qui étaient inutiles. " On en transporta les débris dans les villes de l'Hedjaz. Les " maisons d'Abdallah et les mosquées furent détruites. Les habi-

" tans durent renverser les murs et les forts que le siège avait " épargnés. On trouva dans des lieux souterains quatre cents cottes " de mailles et des armures antiques.* Ibrahym en fit don aux " Arabes ses alliés. Là, après avoir donné ses instructions à " Mahmoud Effendy, il quitta pour la dernière fois la capitale du " pays de Nedjd, qui fut bientôt incendiée.

" A peine fut-il parti, que le gouverneur ordonna aux soldats de " couper les dattiers, pendant que les habitans s'occupaient de " démolir les murs. En moins de vingt jours Derayeh fût privée " de ses habitans. Dès qu'une famille sortait de sa maison, les " soldats y entraient pour la brûler, sans prendre garde si celles du " voisinage étaient évacuées, car les troupes campaient sur la place. " On était dans la saison la plus chaude de l'année, toute la végé- " tation était anéantie ; ce qui formait un spectacle affligeant. Après " ce désastre, Mahmoud Effendy rassembla son monde et alla " rejoindre Ibrahym Pacha au camp de Chakra."

At the end of this, the reader who refers to the text of M. Mengin, will find an account of a British force sent from India to Katyf, about which I know nothing,—except, that if the story be as he tells it, it is another instance of those precious schemes of folly and expense, which persons who know little or nothing about the matter, have but too frequently prevailed on the Government in India to adopt.

NOTE XX.

" *Who sent Kadis, or Judges, from Dereyah.*"—Page 115.

And here I cannot help putting before the reader part of the 21st, and the whole of the 22nd verse, of the 18th chapter of *Exodus*.

" Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, " such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness :—

" And let them judge the people at all seasons : and it shall be, " that every great matter they shall bring unto thee, but every " small matter they shall judge : so shall it be easier for thyself, " and they shall bear the burden with thee."

* Amongst these there were no doubt many pieces the possession of which would have given great pleasure to an antiquarian.

Again: I wish to refer the reader to verses 18 and 19 of the 21st chapter.

"And if men strive together, and one smite another with a "stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keepeth his bed: if he "rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote "him be quit: only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and "cause him to be thoroughly healed."

NOTE XXI.

I am almost of opinion, that both Tasso and Ariosto borrowed the idea of their female warriors from some such person as Ghayle, who seems to have been to the full as great a virago, and as capable of sending a similar message to the Egyptian Paçha, as Bradamant does to the Lord of the Castle.

"Rispose quel ch'era occupato il loco,
"Da donne e da guerrier che venner dianzi,
"E stavano aspettando intorno al fuoco.
"Che posta fosse lor la cena innanzi.
"Por lor non crèdo l'avrà fatta il cuoco
"S'ella v'e ancor, nè l' han mangiata innanzi
"Disse la donna: or va che gli attendo
"Che so l'usanza e di servarla intendo."

"The porter told her that the lodgings all
"Were filld by knights, that late before them tooke,
"Who now stood by the fire, amid the hall,
"And did ere long to have their supper looke:
"Well (answers she) then have they cause but small,
"If they be supperlesse, to thank the cooke;
"I know, quoth she, the custom, and will keepe it,
"And mean to win their lodging ere I sleepe it."

NOTE XXII.

HEGIRA.

The Arabs, previously to the Hegirà, made use of two other epochs, in dating their different transactions,—one, the Elefant—the other, the impious war. I have not at present by me a copy of the work of the learned Dr. Prideaux, and shall therefore make use of the French translation:—

"C'est de cette Fuite de Mahomet, que commence l'Hégire, qui "est l'Epoque des Mahometans. Elle fut établie par Omar (IIIe. "Empereur des Sarazins,) à l'occasion d'un differend survenu

" entre deux Personnes touchant une Dette, et cela de la ma-
" nière qui suit. Le Creancier avoit le Billet du Debiteur, où il
" avoüoit la Dette, and où il marquoit le jour de mois auquel il
" s'obligeoit de la payer. Le terme du jour and du mois étant
" échu, le Creancier pour avoir son Argent, fut obligé de pour-
" suivre en Justice son Debiteur devant Omar. Le Debiteur
" avoüoit la Dette, mais il nioit que le jour du payement fût
" encore venu, alleguant que le mois mentionné dans le Billet,
" étoit de l'Année suivante: Le Creancier au contraire soûtenoit
" que ce mois-là étoit de l'Année precedente. Et comme il étoit
" impossible de décider ce differend, à cause de la date qui man-
" quoit au Billet, Omar fit assembler son Conseil pour chercher
" quelque expedient qui pût ensuite prevenir cette difficulté. Il y
" fut resolu qu'on marqueroit à l'avenir dans tous les Billets, et
" autres écrits la date du jour, du mois, et de l'an de la signature.
" Et quant à l'Année, il consulta un savant Persan nommé Har-
" muzan, qui était pour lors auprès de lui, et ordonna de son avis
" qu'à l'avenir on eût à compter depuis que Mahomet avoit pris la
" Fuite de la Meque, pour se retirer à Medine. C'est pour cette
" raison qu'on apella cette epoque, Hegire, qui en Arabe, signifie
" Fuite. Elle commença le 16. jour de Juillet, l'an de Nôtre
" Seigneur 622. Et depuis cet ordre d'Omar, qui fut dans la 18.
" année de cette Fuite, l'Hegire a été constamment observée
" parmi les Mahometans, de la même manière que l'époque de
" l'Incarnation de Nôtre Seigneur Jesus-Christ, l'est parmi nous
" autres Chrêtiens. Le jour que Mahomet quitta la Mecque,
" était le premier du Rabia premier, et il arriva à Medine le 12.
" du même mois. Mais l'Hegire commence deux mois devant,
" savoir, du premier de Moharram. Car comme c'était le premier
" mois de l'année des Arabes, Omar ne voulut rien changer quant
" à cela, il anticipa seulement le Calcul de 59. jours pour pouvoir
" commencer son époque, dès le commencement de la même
" année que la Fuite de l'Imposteur arriva. Jusques à l'établis-
" sement de cette époque, les Arabes avoient accoûtumé de compter
" depuis la dernière guerre considérable où ils s'étoient trouvez
" engagez. Et comme l'époque de l'Elefant, et l'époque de la

" Guerre Impie, étoient celles dont on se servoit à la Mecque
" durant tout le tems de Mahomet, j'en parlerai ici.

" L'époque de l'Elefant avoit commencé depuis une guerre que
" les habitans de la Mecque eurent, à l'occasion suivante, avec les
" Ethiopiens, dans la même année que Mahomet naquit. Environ
" 70. ans avant Mahomet, il regnoit parmi les Homerites, qui
" étoient une Nation Ancienne des Arabes vers le Midi de la
" Mecque, un certain Roy nommé Du Nawas, qui ayant embrassé
" la Religion des Juifs, persecutoit celle des Chrêtiens, établie
" dans ces quartiers-là depuis plus de 300. ans, et fit tout ce qu'il
" pût pour la détruire entièrement dans tout son Royaume. Il fit
" faire pour cet effet une Fournaise ardente d'une profondeur pro-
" digieuse dans la terre, où il faisoit jetter tous les Chrêtiens, qui
" ne vouloient point renoncer à leur Foy pour embrasser le Ju-
" daisme. Les auteurs Arabes racontent un fait très mémorable
" du tems de cette persecution. Ils disent qu'une femme étant
" emmenée à la Fournaise avec un de ses fils fort jeune, qu'elle
" portoit entre ses bras, fut si épouvantée à la vûe du feu, qu'elle
" recula comme si elle avoit aimé mieux s'accommoder avec ses
" persecuteurs, et renoncer à sa Foy, que de périr ainsi pour sa
" religion. Mais que là-dessus, l'Enfant se mit à crier:—Ma
" Mère, ne craignez point la mort pour vôtre religion; car après
" ce feu, vous n'en sentirez jamais aucun autre. Sur quoi cette
" femme ayant repris courage, accomplit son martire. Cette perse-
" cution obligea beaucoup de Chrêtiens Homerites à fuïr en Ethiopie
" pour se mettre en sûreté. Ils s'y plaignirent au roy de cette
" cruelle persecution, et ce Prince étant Chrêtien voulut bien
" envoyer pour les secourir une armée de 7000 hommes, com-
" mandée par son Oncle Aryat, qui ayant défait Du Nawas dans
" une Bataille, le poursuivit avec tant de vigueur, qu'il le força de
" se jetter dans la Mer, où il perit. Là-dessus le Royaume des
" Homerites tomba entre les mains des Ethiopiens, et Aryat le
" gouverna 20 ans. Il eut pour successeur Abraham Al Ashram,
" qui ayant bâti une fameuse Eglise à Saana, Capitale des Home-
" rites, béaucoup d'Arabes s'y rendoient pour assister au Culte
" Chrêtien; de manière que le Temple de la Meque commençoit
" d'être negligé, et l'on voyoit tomber en décadence le Culte Payen

" qu'un si grand concours de peuple de toute l'Arabie y avoit " jusques-là observé. Ce changement affligeoit beaucoup ceux de " la Meque: car ils tenoient leur principal soûtien du grand abord " qu'il y avoit tous les ans des Pélerins, qui suivant leur coûtume " y alloient pour adorer leurs Divinitez Payennes, et pour s'aquitter " des cérémonies, dont la solemnité y faisoit venir beaucoup de " monde de tous les endroits d'Arabie. Ainsi pour témoigner " l'indignation qu'ils avoient conçûe contre cette Eglise, qui mena- " çoit leur bien public d'une entière ruine, il y en eut quelques- " uns qui étant allez à Sanaa entrèrent secrètement dans l'Eglise, " et eurent l'impudence de la souiller avec outrage de leurs excre- " mens. Abraham en fut si irrité que pour se venger de cet affront " il jura la ruine du Temple de la Meque: et pour effectuer ce " qu'il avoit juré, il s'achemina vers la place, qu'il assiegea avec une " armée nombreuse. Mais n'étant pas en état de venir à bout de " son dessein, aparemment faute de provisions qui étoient néces- " saires pour le grand nombre des troupes qu'il avoit dans un Pais " si desert et si sterile, il fut obligé de retourner sur ses pas avec " perte. Et parce qu'il avoit plusieurs Elefans dans son armée, " cette guerre fut appellée *la Guerre de l'Elefant;* et l'on appela " l'*Epoque* dont ils se servoient pour compter depuis ce tems-là " époque de l'Elefant. C'est à cette guerre que l'Alcoran fait " allusion dans le Chapitre 105, qu'on appelle le Chapitre de " Elefant, où Mahomet dit, comment le Seigneur traita ceux qui " vinrent montez sur des Elefans pour ruiner le Temple de la " Meque, qu'il rompit leurs desseins perfides, et envoya contr'eux " de puissantes Armées d'Oiseaux, qui en leur jettant d'enhaut des " Pierres sur la Tête, les rendoient semblables au grain des " Champs, que les Bêtes détruisent et foulent aux piez. C'est-là, " où les Commentateurs de l'Alcoran, disent que pour préserver le " Temple de la Meque, de la déstruction dont il étoit menacé, " Dieu envoya contre les Ethiopiens de grandes Armées d'Oiseaux, " qui portoient chacun trois Pierres, une au Bec et une à chaque " Pié; qu'ils les jettoient en bas sur les Têtes des Ennemis; que " ces Pierres, quoi qu'elles ne fussent pas beaucoup plus grosses " que des Pois, étoient pourtant d'une telle pésanteur que tombant " sur le Casque, elles le perçoient et l'Homme aussi de part en

" part; que sur chacune de ces Pierres étoit écrit le nom de celui " qui en devoit être tué; et que l'Armée des Ethiopiens étant " ainsi détruite, le Temple de la Meque fut sauvé. Car Mahomet " ayant résolu de conserver l'ancienne réputation de ce Temple " pour en faire le lieu principal de son Nouveau Culte, comme il " avoit été auparavant celui du Culte Payen, et ayant dessein d'en " augmenter la vénération dans l'esprit de ses Sectateurs abusez, " inventa ce Miracle entre plusieurs autres, quoi qu'il auroit pû y " avoir lors des Gens en vie capables de lui donner un démenti " là-dessus; plus que cette guerre arriva la même année que Ma- " homet naquit, c'est à dire 54 ans avant le commencement de " l'Hégire. Mais peut-être ce Chapitre ne fut-il mis au jour que " beaucoup d'années après dans l'Alcoran de l'Edition d'Othman, " dans un tems que tous ceux qui auroient pû se souvenir de cette " guerre, étoient morts, et qu'ainsi cette Fable étoit hors de dan- " ger d'être contredite par aucun de ceux qui en savoient la " fausseté.

" L'époque de la Guerre Impie commença depuis la 20 année " de l'époque de l'Elefant, et tira son nom d'une guerre terrible " qu'il y eut dans ce tems-là, entre les Korashites et les Kaisaila- " nites; ce fut alors que Mahomet âgé de 20 ans fit ses premières " Armes sous son Oncle Abu-Taleb. Cette guerre fut apellée " Impie, parce qu'on la fit avec tant d'emportement et de fureur " qu'elle fut continuée même durant les Mois où ils comptoient " parmi eux qu'on ne pouvoit faire la guerre sans impieté. Car " c'étoit une ancienne coûtume dans toute l'Arabie que de garder 4 " mois de l'année comme sacrez, savoir les Mois de Moharram, " Rajeb, Dulkaada, et Dulhagha, qui sont le premier, le 7, le 11, et " le 12, de l'année pendant lesquels toute sorte de guerre devoit " cesser. Et ces Mois étoient observez si religieusement parmi " toutes leurs Tribus, que pour si grande que fût l'animosité d'une " Tribu contre l'autre, chose assez ordinaire parmi eux, le Mois " sacré n'avoit pas plûtôt commencé, qu'ôtant les pointes de leurs " Lances, et mettant bas toutes sortes d'armes, ils ne commettoient " aucun acte d'hostilité, et même avoient commerce ensemble, se " mêlant les uns avec les autres, comme s'il y avoit eu entr'eux

" une Paix solide et une amitié parfaite; de manière qui si pen-
" dant ces Mois-là un homme rencontroit l'Assassin de son Père
" ou de son Frère, il n'osoit l'attaquer, malgré la violence de son
" ressentiment, et quelque grand que fut le desir qu'il avoit d'assouvir
" sa vengeance; mais cette coûtume fut violée dans cette guerre,
" qu'on apella pour cette raison Impie; et comme dans cette con-
" joncture Mahomet commença à prendre les armes, ce fut un
" présage des desseins sacrileges auxquels il devoit employer le
" reste de sa vie."

THE END.

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Map
of the NEDSJED COUNTRY, or
CENTRAL ARABIA - EGYPT,
and the Positions occupied by the Troops of
Mohammed Aly Pacha, in the Year 1820.
ARABIA DESERTA
EGYPT
ARABIA
PART OF YEMEN
Tehama Country
Bassora
Medina
MECCA
Tropic of Cancer
Deserts
Great Desert
Hyrhoreyeh
Arabs
Nile R.
A CHART of the Environs of Derréyeh.
Longitude East from Greenwich.

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